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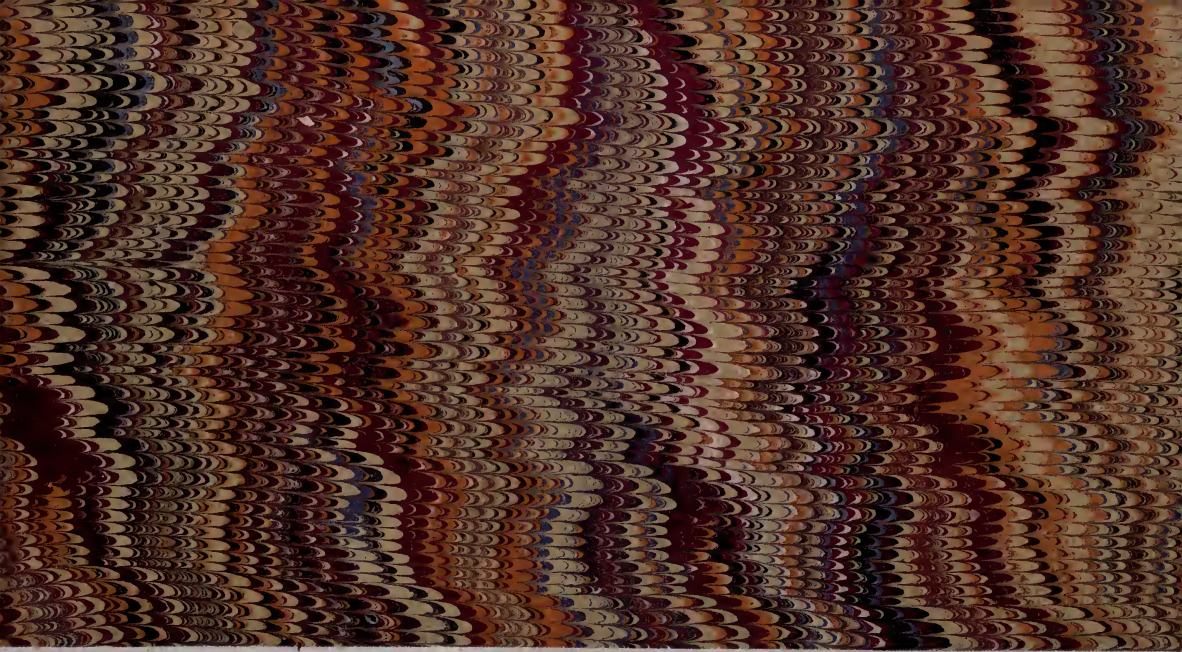

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VOL. II.

THE UNITED STATES.

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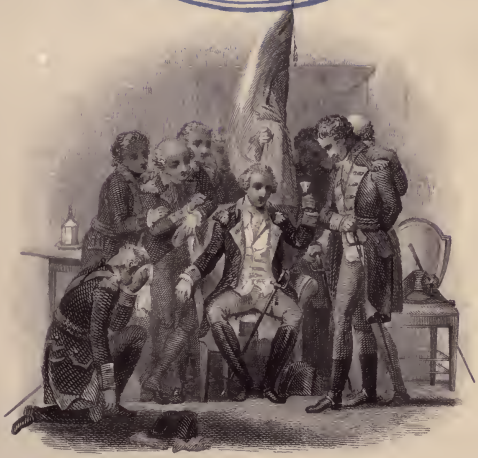

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Washington taking leave of his Officers.

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

CHAP. I.

IRREGULAR HOSTILITIES IN GEORGIA. — COLONEL CAMPBELL INVADES THAT STATE. — BATTLE OF SAVANNAH. — SURRENDER OF SUNBURY. — ARRIVAL OF GENERAL PREVOST. — GENERAL LINCOLN APPOINTED TO COMMAND THE SOUTHERN ARMY. — SAVANNAH RIVER. — BOYD'S LOYALISTS DEFEATED. — ASHE DEFEATED AT BRIER CREEK. — LINCOLN MARCHES UP THE SAVANNAH. — PREVOST ENTERS SOUTH CAROLINA. — MARCHES TO CHARLESTOWN. — RETREATS TO JOHN'S ISLAND, AND IS FOLLOWED BY LINCOLN. — ATTACK ON STONO FERRY. — INCURSION INTO VIRGINIA. — STONY AND VERPLANKS TAKEN. — COAST OF CONNECTICUT RAVAGED. — STONY POINT RE-TAKEN — EVACUATED. — PENOBSCOT ATTACKED. — ADMIRAL ARBUTHNOT SUPERSEDES SIR GEORGE COLLIER. — POOLE'S HOOKE ATTACKED. — WAR AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS AND SOUTHERN INDIANS.

EXCEPT the unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island in 1776, the British force had hitherto been directed solely against the northern and middle states, the most populous and strongest parts of the union. If the north had been subdued, the south must have yielded; but the results had not answered the expectations of the British cabinet. One army had been compelled to lay down its arms; and although the army on the coast had never been beaten, yet its victories had been of little advantage to the cause in which they were gained. The people had indeed suffered much in the course of the contest; but their sufferings, instead of subduing their spirits,

had only embittered their animosity against the mother-country.

In those circumstances, when the season for active operations in the middle and northern states terminated, the British commander-in-chief resolved to make an attempt on the southern provinces, as an experiment to ascertain the probable result of transferring the war to that quarter. If he could not subdue all the country, he might reduce a part of it to allegiance to the British crown. Success in the south might pave the way for victory in the north. The south produced the commodities most valuable in the European market; and the possession of some of the provinces would entitle the British government to better terms at a general peace. By these and similar considerations, the British commander-in-chief was induced to try the chances of war in the south. His attention was turned to that quarter by a desultory but destructive warfare which, during the preceding summer, had been carried on between Georgia and East Florida. In some degree that warfare had subsisted ever since Georgia joined the union; and the object of their mutual incursions seems to have been partly plunder, and partly revenge. But, during the preceding summer, those predatory inroads had assumed a more serious aspect than usual: numbers of loyalists, who had fled from the Carolinas and Georgia, sought shelter in East Florida; and, animated with all the fervour of political zeal and personal revenge, they readily joined in those expeditions. One of those marauding parties advanced to Sunbury in Georgia, which they summoned to surrender; but colonel M'Intosh, commander of the fort, returned this laconic answer:—"Come and take it." Understanding by this reply that they were to meet with an obstinate resistance, and being little inclined to encounter the fatigue and dangers of a siege, the party immediately retreated. Another body of those irregular warriors, by a different route, penetrated as far as the river Ogeechee, within thirty miles of Savannah. There they found colonel Elbert, with

200 continental troops ready to dispute the passage of the river; and being informed of the retrograde movement of the other division, they also retraced their steps, both parties marking their course by ruin and carnage.

This inroad was retaliated by an incursion into East Florida by general Robert Howe, commander of the military force of South Carolina and Georgia. But his raw and improvident troops were attacked by disease; and although he scarcely saw the face of an enemy, yet he was obliged to hasten home with considerable loss. Scarcely, however, had his army, consisting of between six and seven hundred continental soldiers and a few hundreds of militia, taken post in the vicinity of Savannah, when he had to encounter an enemy far more formidable than the irregulars of East Florida.

A plan of attack on Georgia had been concerted between sir Henry Clinton and general Prevost, who commanded in East Florida. A British detachment was to land on the banks of the Savannah, and there to be joined by the troops under general Prevost, who was to command the whole. For that purpose the seventy-first regiment of foot, two battalions of Hessians, four of loyal provincials, and a party of artillery, amounting in all to about 3500 men, under the command of colonel Campbell, sailed from Sandy Hook on the 27th of November; and, as already mentioned, was escorted by a small squadron under commodore Parker. The armament appeared off the mouth of the Savannah on the 23d of December.

The river Savannah is the line of separation between the states of Georgia and South Carolina; and the town of the same name stands on the south bank, about fifteen miles from the sea. The country about the mouth of the river is one continued marsh, impassable by troops except over causeways extending through the swamps. Colonel Campbell had heard nothing of the movements of general Prevost, who was to command the expedition; but, having received some information concerning the state of the province and its military force, he deter-

mined to commence active operations without waiting the general's arrival. He accordingly proceeded up the river to the first practicable landing-place at Gerido's plantation, about three miles below the town of Savannah, where the debarkation began early on the morning of the 29th. From the landing-place a narrow causeway, 600 yards long, with a ditch on each side of it, ran through a rice swamp to the plantation on the rising ground. Captain Cameron of the seventy-first regiment, with his light infantry, landed first, and advanced along the causeway. A small American party, stationed on the rising ground at the upper end of it, received the British detachment with a discharge of musketry, which killed captain Cameron and two of his men, and wounded five others. The impetuous Highlanders rushed forward to revenge the death of their officer and comrades; but the Americans abandoned their advantageous post, and fled into the woods, when the British landed without farther interruption.

The American general, Howe, with about 900 men, nad occupied a good position about half a mile below the town of Savannah, on the road leading to Gerido's plantation. The swamp and river were on his left, a morass in front extending beyond his right flank, where it was covered with wood and bushes. He had one piece of artillery on each flank, and two pointed to the road by which he expected the British troops to advance. He had broken up the road and destroyed a bridge, so that his front was well secured; and if the attack had been made in that quarter only, an obstinate conflict might have ensued. But a negro, who fell into colonel Campbell's hands, informed him of a private path through the marsh, beyond the American right flank, and by which their rear might be gained. Colonel Campbell came in sight of the American army about three in the afternoon; and, while the inequalities of the ground partly concealed his movements, he detached sir James Baird with the light infantry and New York volunteers to cross the morass by the private path, turn the Ame-

rican right, and attack their rear. Meanwhile, in order to amuse the enemy and divert their attention from the real point of attack, colonel Campbell performed some evolutions in front; but as soon as sir James Baird had passed the swamp by the private path, he attacked a party of Georgian militia, and the firing on that occasion informed colonel Campbell of the success of his detachment, and gave the American general the first notice of the danger which threatened his rear. The British line was ordered to advance rapidly: the artillery, which had been concealed behind an eminence, was brought forward, and began a brisk cannonade on the Americans. Howe ordered a retreat, which was now become difficult. His men ran across a plain in front of sir James Baird's detachment, which attacked them with great impetuosity, and did considerable execution. Such of them as escaped retreated up the Savannah, crossed the river at Zubly's Ferry, and took refuge in South Carolina.

The victory was complete and decisive. About 100 Americans were either killed on the field or drowned in a deep swamp which lay in their way. Thirty-eight officers and 415 privates were taken prisoners. The fort, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, a quantity of military stores and provisions collected for the use of the southern army and the capital of Georgia, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This brilliant victory was achieved with the loss of only seven men killed and nineteen wounded. The brave defence of Fort Moultrie in 1776 had hitherto saved the southern states from the horrors of war; but the defeat of Howe at Savannah made those states the scene of fierce and desolating hostilities during the remainder of the contest.

General Prevost had been ordered to join colonel Campbell and command the expedition; but Campbell had acted with such judgment and promptitude that the reduction of the province was almost accomplished before Prevost appeared. The policy and humanity of colonel Campbell after the victory were equal to his bravery

and skill in the field. He not only spared the property and protected the persons of the inhabitants, but treated them with lenity. His moderation and kindness conciliated their good will and confirmed his triumph. By proclamation he invited the people to repair to the royal standard, and promised protection to those who returned to their allegiance. His proclamation was not disregarded. The people crowded to the British standard. Associations for the defence of the province were formed, and military posts established a good way up the river.

Colonel Campbell, having taken the necessary measures for securing the northern frontier of Georgia, turned his attention towards the garrison of Sunbury, the retreat of which was cut off; but, when he was about to march against it, he was informed that it had surrendered to general Prevost, who advanced to Savannah, where he arrived about the middle of January, and took the command of the British force in Georgia, agreeably to the original plan of the expedition. He immediately detached colonel Campbell, with 800 regular troops, and some provincials, against Augusta, the principal town of the interior part of the province, situated on the south bank of the Savannah, about 150 miles from the coast. Possession of it was easily acquired, and thus the reduction of Georgia was completed.

While the expedition against Georgia was preparing at New York, congress was meditating the conquest of East Florida. Having received notice from general Washington of an intended attack on the southern states, the delegates of Georgia were desirous that an officer of more experience than Howe should have the command in that quarter; and requested that general Lincoln, who had been second in rank at Saratoga, should be appointed to the command of the southern army. Accordingly, so far back as the month of September, Howe had been ordered to repair to the head quarters of general Washington, and Lincoln was nominated commander in the south. At the same time congress passed a resolution, requesting the executive

councils of Virginia and North Carolina to give all the assistance in their power to South Carolina and Georgia.

In obedience to orders, general Lincoln repaired to Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, where he found the military affairs of the country in much disorder. From ignorance, inadvertency, or want of means, congress had established no continental military chest in the southern department. That defect rendered the troops dependent on the several state governments for supplies to enable the army to move on any emergency; and, in a great degree, subjected even the continental troops to the control of the civil authority in the several states. The militia, also, who had been taken into continental pay, considered themselves subject only to the military code of the province to which they belonged. Such a state of things was extremely unfavourable to the promptitude and vigour of military operations.

While general Lincoln was employed in rectifying disorders, and making preparations for the ensuing campaign, he received information of the appearance of the British armament off the coast of Georgia. So promptly had the state of North Carolina complied with the recommendation of Congress to assist their southern neighbours, that 2000 men, raised for that purpose, arrived at Charlestown, under the command of generals Ashe and Rutherford. But although the state of North Carolina had raised the men, it had not provided them with arms; and congress had no magazines in that part of the union. The troops, therefore, were dependent on South Carolina for every military equipment: but that state, though better provided than North Carolina, had no superabundance of arms; and, under the apprehension that its own territory was to be invaded, declined supplying the troops of North Carolina with arms till it was too late to save the capital of Georgia.

When it was ascertained that the British fleet but entered the Savannah, the arms were furnished, every exertion was made to put the troops at Charlestown in

motion, and general Lincoln at their head proceeded rapidly towards the enemy; but on his march he received the mortifying information of Howe's defeat, and soon afterwards met the feeble remnant of the beaten army at Purysburg, a small town on the north bank of the Savannah, about thirty miles from the coast. At Purysburg general Lincoln established his head quarters on the 3d of January. The force under his command amounted to between 3000 and 4000 men, many of them new levies and militia, who were strangers to the discipline and subordination of a camp. The army of general Prevost was somewhat more numerous, and greatly superior in the quality of the troops.

But with all his advantages it was not easy for general Prevost to advance into South Carolina; for the river Savannah flowed between the two armies. Its channel, indeed, is not wide; but for 100 miles from its mouth it flows through a marshy country, which it often inundates to the breadth of from two to four miles. At no one place is there solid ground on both sides to the brink of the river. A few narrow causeways running through the marsh are the only places where it can be passed, and on many occasions these cannot be crossed by an army. This circumstance made it difficult for general Prevost to enter South Carolina, and inexpedient for general Lincoln to make any attempt on the British posts, although they extended from Savannah to Augusta.

The coast of Georgia and South Carolina is broken and irregular, abounding in islands, and intersected by arms of the sea. General Prevost detached major Gardener, with 200 men, to take possession of the Island of Port Royal; but that officer was soon attacked by general Moultrie, who compelled him to retreat with loss. Deterred by that check, general Prevost, for some time, made no farther attempts on South Carolina.

From the beginning of the war, a considerable number

of the settlers on the western frontier of the three southern provinces had been well affected to the royal cause. They were satisfied with their condition, and wished no change. Information of the first successes of the British arms in Georgia soon reached these settlers; and emissaries were despatched to invite them to join the king's standard at Augusta, which had been erected there partly with a view to favour such movements, and to encourage the loyal settlers to co-operate with the troops in establishing the royal authority. Such of them as, on account of the notoriety of their principles and of their active hostility to independence, had been obliged to seek shelter among the Indians, were flattered with the hope of returning in triumph to the enjoyment of their possessions.

About 700 of these loyalists embodied themselves under colonel Boyd, and began their march from the back parts of South Carolina to Augusta. Destitute of provisions, and dependent on plunder for subsistence, they resembled a disorderly banditti rather than a military force; and, by their irregularities, they armed all the peaceable inhabitants against them. The militia assembled under colonel Pickens; pursued and attacked them near Kittle Creek; and defeated them with considerable slaughter, Boyd, their leader, being among the killed. Many prisoners were taken, seventy of whom were tried and condemned as traitors, and five of the most obnoxious were executed. About 300 of them escaped, reached the British outposts, and joined the royal army. This defeat depressed the rising spirits of the loyalists, and, for a while, preserved the tranquillity of the western frontier.

The British post at Augusta was too distant from the main body of the army to be easily maintained; and therefore, about the middle of February, colonel Campbell was ordered to abandon it. By slow marches he moved down the river, till he reached Hudson's Ferry, about twenty-four miles from Ebenezer, where the British head-quarters were then established. There he left his

detachment under the care of lieutenant-colonel Prevost, brother of the general, and returned to Savannah.

The American army was gradually reinforced by the arrival of militia from the Carolinas; and general Lincoln began to meditate offensive operations. He extended his posts up the river; and detached general Ashe, with 1300 militia, 100 continental soldiers, and some cavalry, to take post opposite Augusta. His intention was to straiten the quarters of the British troops, and to cut off the communication with the Indians and the settlers on the western frontier. On arriving at his station, Ashe found Augusta already evacuated; and, agreeably to his instructions, he crossed the river, marched down the south side, and took post near the point where Brier Creek falls into the Savannah, forming an acute angle with it. His position was good, and appeared secure. The Savannah with its marshes was on his left; and his front was covered by Brier Creek, which is about six yards wide and unfordable at that place, as well as for several miles above it.

General Prevost resolved to dislodge the American detachment. For the purpose of amusing general Lincoln, he made a show of an intention to pass the river; and, in order to occupy the attention of Ashe, he ordered a party to appear on the opposite side of Brier Creek in his front. Meanwhile colonel Prevost, with 900 chosen men, made an extensive circuit, passed Brier Creek fifteen miles above the American station, gained their rear unperceived, and was almost in their camp before they discovered his approach. The continental troops, under general Elbert, were drawn out to meet them, and began the engagement with spirit. But most of the militia threw down their arms without firing a shot, fled in confusion into the marsh, and swam across the river, in which numbers of them were drowned. General Elbert and his small band of continentals, supported by only one regiment of North Carolina militia, were not long able to maintain the unequal conflict; but, being overpowered by numbers, were compelled to surrender

themselves prisoners of war. The Americans lost between 300 and 400 men, who were killed or taken prisoners, with seven pieces of artillery. Among the prisoners were general Elbert and colonel M'Intosh, officers of the continental army. The militia were dispersed; most of them who escaped returned home; and of the whole of Ashe's division not more than 450 men again joined general Lincoln. This decisive victory cost the British only five privates killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded.

The defeat and dispersion of Ashe's division deprived Lincoln of one fourth of his numerical force, restored to the British the entire possession of Georgia, and opened again their communications with the Indians and loyalists in the back settlements of the southern provinces. The success was complete; and general Prevost seems to have flattered himself that its effects would be permanent; for next day he issued a proclamation establishing civil government in the province, appointing executive and judicial officers for its administration, and declaring the laws, as they existed at the end of the year 1775, to be in force, and to continue till they should be altered by a legislature afterwards to be assembled.

The disaster which had befallen Ashe, instead of terrifying the people of South Carolina into submission, roused them to more vigorous exertions, and to a more determined resolution to maintain their independence. They elected as their governor John Rutledge, a man of talents and influence; and delegated to him and his council powers almost dictatorial. Rutledge, who was zealous in the cause of independence, exerted much energy, and soon sent 1000 militia to camp. Strengthened by such a large reinforcement, general Lincoln resumed his original plan of gaining possession of the upper parts of Georgia; and on the 23d of April he marched up the Savannah with the main body of his army. One design of that movement was to afford protection to the state legislature of Georgia, which was to assemble at Augusta on the 1st of May.

At that time the river was in full flood, and overflowed the marshes on its margin. The rivulets were swollen, and the swamps inundated; and therefore it was believed that a small military force would be able to defend the country against an invading enemy. Accordingly, for the protection of the lower districts, general Lincoln left only 200 continentals, under colonel M'Intosh, who had been exchanged, and 800 militia; the whole commanded by general Moultrie, who had distinguished himself by his brave defence of Sullivan's Island in the year 1776. It was expected that if an invasion of the lower parts of South Carolina should be attempted in Lincoln's absence, the militia would promptly take the field in defence of the country.

Instead of marching up the river, and encountering general Lincoln in the interior, general Prevost considered an irruption into South Carolina the best means for recalling that officer from the enterprise in which he was engaged. Accordingly, on the 29th of April, when Lincoln was far advanced on his way to Augusta, general Prevost, with 2500 troops and a considerable number of Indian allies, suddenly passed the river near Purysburg. Colonel M'Intosh, who was stationed there with a small detachment, retreated to general Moultrie at Black Swamp. General Prevost advanced rapidly into the country; and Moultrie was obliged to retire hastily before him, destroying the bridges in his rear. The militia who were in the field showed no courage, and could not be prevailed on to defend the passes with any degree of bravery. The militia of the state did not appear in arms as had been expected; and Moultrie experienced an alarming diminution of his strength, by the desertion of many of those under his command.

Immediately after the passage of the river by the British, an express was sent to Lincoln, then nearly opposite Augusta, informing him of the event. He considered Prevost's movement as a feint to recall him from the upper parts of the river, and determined to prosecute his plan, and compel the British general to

return for the defence of the capital of Georgia. Meanwhile he despatched 300 light troops, under colonel Harris, to Moultrie's assistance; and crossing the river at Augusta, he marched down on the south side towards the town of Savannah.

General Prevost's original plan was merely to make a temporary incursion into South Carolina, chiefly for the purpose of inducing Lincoln to retrace his steps, and return to the lower parts of the river. But meeting with a feebler resistance than he had anticipated, and encouraged by the flattering representations received from the loyalists of the good will of the people in general to the royal cause, and of the defenceless state of Charlestown, his views began to enlarge, and at length he came to the resolution of making an attempt on the capital of South Carolina. If this had formed part of his original plan, and if he had advanced with the same celerity as he entered the province, he would probably have gained possession of Charlestown, which at that time, on the land side, was wholly unfortified. But he was, in some degree, disconcerted by his own success; and halted two or three days to consider the measures to be adopted in the unexpected circumstances in which he found himself. At last, having resolved to advance to Charlestown, he resumed his march. The plundering and devastation of his troops, and of his Indian allies, spread terror and desolation around him. Moultrie, with his handful of continentals, and his unwarlike militia, retreated before the enemy, giving them little interruption, farther than breaking down the bridges on the road.

Express on express was now despatched to general Lincoln to inform him of the alarming posture of affairs in South Carolina. That officer had crossed the Savannah at Augusta, and, notwithstanding the progress of the British army, resolved to proceed down the south side of the river, because that road was almost as near to Charlestown as any other, and because, by showing his army in Georgia, he hoped to rouse the courage of the intimidated inhabitants. Meanwhile all was ac-

tivity and alarm in Charlestown. That town, as already mentioned, is situated on a point of land between the rivers Ashley and Cooper, where they terminate in a bay of the ocean. Towards the sea the place had been fortified, and works erected on the islands in the bay to defend the entrance. An attack by land had not been anticipated; and on that side the town was entirely open. But in the present alarming crisis the inhabitants began to fortify the city on the land side, and prosecuted the work with vigour and unremitting assiduity. All hands were employed on the work; the slave and his master laboured together. Lines of defence were drawn from the Ashley to the Cooper; artillery was planted on them; and they were flanked by armed galleys stationed in the rivers. General Moultrie, with his feeble force, entered the town; the 300 men detached by Lincoln arrived; governor Rutledge, who had taken post with the militia at Orangeburgh high up the north branch of the Edisto, as a central station whence he could most easily afford assistance to any place that might be threatened, hastened to the point of danger; and Pulaski's legion came in. All these troops entered the city nearly at the same time; and, together with the fortifications recently constructed, put it in a condition very different from that in which it had been only a few days before.

On the evening of the 10th of May, about the time when the several American detachments entered Charlestown, general Prevost with his army arrived at Ashley Ferry. Next morning he passed the river, marched down the neck between the Ashley and Cooper, and took a position just without the reach of the guns on the fortifications. The remainder of the day was spent in slight skirmishes. On the 12th general Prevost summoned the town to surrender; and governor Rutledge, deeming it of much importance to gain time, the day was occupied in negotiation. On the part of the town a proposal was made for the neutrality of South Carolina during the war, leaving its ultimate fate to be determined by the treaty of peace; but after several

messages and explanations, this proposal, which could with no propriety be agreed to, was entirely rejected by general Prevost, who told the garrison that, being in arms, they must surrender themselves prisoners of war. This closed the negotiation, and both parties seemed to prepare for an appeal to arms. But next morning the garrison was agreeably surprised to find that the British army had retreated during the night, and recrossed Ashley Ferry. On surveying the American works, general Prevost perceived that, although they were unfinished, yet it was too hazardous in his circumstances to assault them; for the garrison was more numerous than his army. There was no time for delay, as he knew Lincoln was rapidly advancing against him; therefore he came to the prudent resolution of immediately retiring.

In civil commotions the representations of interested parties can be little relied on; for they are expressions of their wishes rather than a true account of the real state of affairs. The loyalists had assured general Prevost that the inhabitants of South Carolina were generally well affected to the royal cause, and would flock to his standard as soon as he appeared among them. Misled by this illusory information, general Prevost had engaged in the enterprise against Charlestown without an adequate force. From want of troops he had found it expedient to evacuate Augusta, and to contract his posts on the Savannah; yet, without any increase of his numbers, he had made an irruption into South Carolina, and advanced to Charlestown, leaving Lincoln with a considerable army in his rear. If he had continued his march with the same rapidity as he began it, he would have reached the city before it was in a condition to make any resistance. If he had gained possession of it, the Americans would have been much injured, but the British would have acquired no real advantage; for general Prevost had not a force capable of keeping possession both of Georgia and South Carolina in the face of the army that opposed him. His advance was in-

considerate, but his retreat was prudent. He re-crossed the river Ashley without interruption; as, during the night, the garrison of Charlestown was every moment in expectation of being assaulted.

General Prevost did not return to Savannah by the direct road, as he had advanced; for in Charlestown there was a numerous garrison in his rear, and Lincoln was near at hand with his army. Therefore, after passing Ashley Ferry, he turned to the left and proceeded to the coast, which, abounding with islands, and being intersected by arms of the sea all the way to the mouth of the Savannah, afforded him, in consequence of the naval superiority of Britain, the easiest and safest method of returning with all his baggage to Georgia. He first passed into the Island of St. James, and then into that of St. John, where he took post till the arrival of a supply of provisions, which he had for some time expected from New York.

By hasty marches general Lincoln had arrived at Dorchester, not far from Charlestown, before general Prevost left Ashley Ferry; and when the British troops proceeded to the coast, Lincoln followed and encamped near them, both armies being about thirty miles from Charlestown.

John's Island, of which general Prevost took possession, is separated from the main land by a narrow inlet called Stono river; and the communication between the continent and the island is kept up by a ferry. On the continent, at this ferry, the British general established a post; partly for the security of the island, and partly for the protection of his foragers. For the defence of the post three redoubts were constructed, and joined together by lines of communication. For some time 1500 men were stationed at the post under colonel Prevost; and the communication with the island was maintained by a bridge, formed by the numerous schooners, sloops, and smaller vessels which attended the army.

So long as the whole of general Prevost's force lay on

John's Island, ready to support his detachment at Stono Ferry, general Lincoln made no attempt against that post. But the British general set out on his return to Georgia, transporting a large part of his troops, by means of the shipping, from island to island along the coast. Colonel Prevost, also, with part of the garrison of Stono Ferry, was ordered to Savannah; and he left the remainder, amounting to about 700 men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maitland. A number of troops still remained on John's Island, but almost all the boats were removed, and consequently the communication between the island and the main land was not nearly so open as before.

General Lincoln plainly perceived that it was the intention of the British general to evacuate that part of the country without delay; and he resolved not to allow the troops to depart unmolested. He determined to attack the post at Stono Ferry; and in order to prevent it from being reinforced by the troops on the island, general Moultrie, who commanded in Charlestown, was to pass over to James's Island with a number of militia, and engage the attention of the force on John's Island, while a real attack was made on the post at the ferry.

On the 20th of June, before seven in the morning, general Lincoln with about 1200 men advanced to the attack. His right wing was composed of the militia of South and North Carolina, and his continental soldiers formed the left, to encounter the Scottish highlanders, reckoned the best troops in the British service. Colonel Maitland's advanced guards were stationed a good way in front of his works, and a smart firing between them and the Americans gave him the first warning of the approach of the enemy He instantly put his garrison under arms, and sent out two companies of highlanders from his right, under captain Campbell, to ascertain the force of the assailants. The highlanders had proceeded only a quarter of a mile when they met the continental troops of the American army. A fierce conflict ensued: instead of retreating before superior numbers, the high-

landers, with their characteristic impetuosity and obstinate valour, persisted in the unequal combat till all their officers were either killed or wounded. Of the two companies, eleven men only returned to the garrison. The whole American line now advanced within 300 yards of the works, and a general engagement with cannon and musketry began, and was maintained with much courage and steadiness on both sides. At length a regiment of Hessians on the British left gave way, and the Americans were on the point of entering the works; but, by a rapid and judicious movement of the remainder of the 71st regiment, their progress was checked: and as general Moultrie, from want of boats, had been unable to execute in due time his part of the enterprise, general Lincoln, apprehensive of the arrival of reinforcements to the British from the island, drew off his men, and retired in good order, carrying his wounded along with him. The battle lasted upwards of an hour. The British had three officers and twenty-three privates killed, and ten officers and ninety-three privates wounded. The Americans lost five officers who died of their wounds, and thirty-five privates who were killed on the field of battle, besides nineteen officers and 120 privates wounded. Thus the loss of the British, who during part of the engagement were covered by their works, was less than that of the Americans.

Three days after the battle the British troops evacuated the post at Stono Ferry, and also the island of St. John, passing along the coast from island to island, till they reached Beaufort in the island of Port Royal, where general Prevost left a garrison under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maitland.

The heat, which in the southern provinces as effectually puts a stop to military operations during summer as the cold of the north in winter, was now become too intense for active service. The care of the officers, in both armies, was employed in preserving their men from the fevers of the season, and keeping them in a

condition for service next campaign, which was expected to open in October. The American militia dispersed, leaving general Lincoln with about 800 men, whom he marched to Shelden, not far from Beaufort.

The alarm for the safety of the southern states was so great, that general Washington, weak as his army was, weakened it still farther by sending a detachment, consisting of Bland's regiment of cavalry, and the remnant of that lately under Baylor, but now commanded by lieutenant-colonel Washington, with some new levies, to reinforce general Lincoln.

The irruption of general Prevost into South Carolina did no credit to the British army, nor did it in any degree serve the royal cause, although it occasioned great loss to the inhabitants of the province. According to the American historians, Gordon and Ramsay, the British army marked its course by plunder and devastation. It spread over the country to a considerable extent: small parties entered every house; seized the plate, money, jewels, and personal ornaments of the people; and often destroyed what they could not carry away. The slaves, who are numerous in South Carolina, allured by the hope of freedom, repaired to the royal army; and, in order to ingratiate themselves with their new friends, disclosed where their masters had concealed their most valuable effects. Many of those slaves were afterwards shipped off and sold in the West Indies. Some hundreds of them died of the camp fever; and numbers of them, overtaken by disease, and afraid to return to their masters, perished miserably in the woods. It has been calculated that South Carolina lost four thousand slaves. The rapine and devastation were great; and many of the inhabitants, in order to save themselves from those ravages, made professions of attachment to the royal cause; while the means which induced them to make a show of loyalty alienated all their affections from their former rulers.

While the events now related were passing in the south, several desultory operations, the object of which

was devastation and plunder rather than conquest, were carried on in the middle and southern states.

Admiral Gambier, who had succeeded lord Howe in the command of the fleet on the American station, was recalled; and, in the month of April, sir George Collier succeeded him. Between sir George and sir Henry Clinton, a plan was concerted for interrupting the commerce of the Chesapeake, and destroying the magazines on its shores. For those purposes, the commander-in-chief detached 1800 men under general Matthews; and the transports in which they sailed were convoyed by the admiral himself. The fleet sailed from Sandy Hook on the 5th of May, and entered the Capes of Virginia on the 8th. The lower part of Virginia is so intersected by deep creeks and rivers, as to afford those who have the command of the waters an easy passage from one place to another, and to give them a decided advantage over those who are destitute of such facilities of communication.

The fleet anchored in Hampton Road, a large basin of water formed by the confluence of the rivers James, Nansemend, and Elizabeth. On the morning of the 10th it entered Elizabeth River; and the weak American detachment in that quarter, wholly unable to resist such a formidable force, saved itself by flight. The British troops landed without opposition. General Matthews established his head-quarters at Portsmouth, whence he sent small parties to Norfolk, Gosport, Kemp's Landing, and Suffolk; where they took and carried off or destroyed a large quantity of naval and military stores, and a number of ships, some of them richly laden. The loss to the public and to individuals was great. Having accomplished the object of the expedition, general Matthews returned to New York before the end of the month.

At the opening of the campaign of 1779, the British army at New York and Rhode Island, including the detachment under general Matthews, amounted to upwards of sixteen thousand men, assisted by a powerful fleet.

The complete command of the ocean and of the navigable rivers enabled the royal army to make sudden attacks on distant parts of the country, and to keep the Americans in perpetual alarm, as they knew not at what point they were to be assailed. In numerical force the northern army of congress was nearly equal to that under sir Henry Clinton. Upwards of seven thousand men were stationed at Middlebrook, under the immediate command of general Washington; the rest of the army was posted in the highlands on the Hudson under general M'Dougall, and on the east side of the river under general Putnam.

On the part of the Americans the plan of the campaign was necessarily defensive; for they had no probability of making any successful attack on the British army at New York or Rhode Island. That army interrupted the communication by sea, and by the lower parts of the Hudson, between the middle and northern states. To preserve that communication as far down the Hudson as possible was a matter of much importance to the Americans; and to guard the passes of the highlands, and command the communication between New York and Albany, was always an object of anxious attention to general Washington. With a view to secure those points, the Americans began to construct fortifications on Stony Point, a rocky and commanding eminence on the west bank of the river, about sixty miles above New York, and on Verplank's Point, a flat peninsula projecting a good way into the river on the opposite side. The fort at the last place, named La Fayette, was in a state of greater forwardness than the works on Stony Point.

Before the return of general Matthews from his incursion into Virginia, sir Henry Clinton had planned an attack on those places, and the troops were embarked for that purpose. On the return of Matthews, his detachment, without being permitted to land, was joined to the expedition; and on the 30th of May the whole armament, convoyed by sir George Collier and accom-

panied by the commander-in-chief, sailed up the North River. Next morning the largest division of the troops, under general Vaughan, landed on the east bank, seven miles below Fort la Fayette; the remainder, accompanied by sir Henry Clinton, continued their course up the river, and landed on the west side, three miles below Stony Point.

The position of the Americans at Stony Point was strong, but the works were unfinished; and the feeble garrison, after setting fire to a block-house on the top of the eminence, abandoned the place. The British took possession of it in the afternoon, and, in the course of the night, with great labour, dragged some heavy cannon and mortars to the top of the hill. At five next morning a battery was ready to open on Fort la Fayette. The distance across the river was about a thousand yards; and during the day the fire from the commanding summit of Stony Point, and from the armed vessels and gun-boats in the river, made a sensible impression on the works of Fort la Fayette. During the following night two galleys passed up the river, and anchored above the fort, so as to prevent the escape of the garrison by water. General Vaughan, having made a long circuit, completely invested the place by land. Therefore the garrison, unable to maintain the post against such a superior force, and finding themselves enclosed on every side, surrendered the place, and became prisoners of war. Sir Henry Clinton gave immediate directions for completing the fortifications of both posts, and putting them in a strong state of defence.

General Washington obtained early notice of preparations at New York for this expedition; and, suspecting that it was intended either against his own army at Middlebrook or the passes in the highlands, he put his troops in motion, and ordered general Putnam to be ready to make a rapid movement up the river. He strengthened the garrison of West Point, an important post on the Hudson, some miles above Verplank's; and took a strong position, with his army, in Smith's Close,

so as to secure West Point on that side. But sir Henry Clinton, perceiving that no further progress could be made up the river, and being informed that Staten Island was threatened in his absence, after garrisoning the posts which he had taken, returned with his fleet and army to New York.

The states of New England were the most populous in the Union. With them the quarrel originated; and they had given congress an active and zealous support. The activity and courage which they had displayed at the commencement of the struggle had hitherto, in a great measure, saved that part of the country from being made the theatre of war. But now sir Henry Clinton determined to ravage the coast of Connecticut; partly with the view of drawing general Washington from his strong position in the highlands to protect the towns near the shore, and partly in order to punish the inhabitants for their active hostility to the British government. For those purposes 2600 men, under the command of Tryon, formerly governor of the province of New York, but now a major-general in the British army, convoyed by sir George Collier with several vessels of war, sailed from Frog's Neck in the sound, on the 4th of July, and next morning reached the vicinity of Newhaven, the capital of Connecticut.

On the appearance of the armament, the militia assembled with alacrity and in considerable numbers. But the troops effected a landing several miles below the town; and, notwithstanding a continued opposition, made themselves masters of it, and took or destroyed all the artillery, ammunition, public stores, and the vessels in the harbour, but, in a great measure, spared private property.

Next day they reimbarked, and sailed along the coast to the village of Fairfield. The alarm was now widely spread; the militia assembled in greater numbers; and the opposition to the troops was more obstinate than at Newhaven. But they forced their way into Fairfield: and general Tryon, determined if possible to ruin those

whom he was unable to subdue, not only destroyed all the public property, but laid the flourishing village in ashes, and treated many unarmed persons with brutality. Such conduct disgraced the British arms, and injured the cause which it was intended to serve. At all times war is a fearful scourge, and ought to be carried on with as much humanity as is consistent with the attainment of the main object in view. To intrust a military force to the orders of an infuriated zealot can seldom serve any good purpose.

The opposition increased as the troops advanced; and the towns of Norwalk and Greenfield, at which they successively landed, shared the same unhappy fate with Fairfield. An attack on New London, a noted place of resort for the privateers which preyed on the British trade, was the ultimate object of the expedition; but, as the resistance still increased, a formidable opposition was there anticipated, and it was therefore thought advisable to procure a reinforcement of men and a supply of provisions before attempting that place. For this purpose the fleet returned to Huntington Bay, in Long Island; and sir George Collier repaired to Frog's Neck, to consult with the commander-in-chief of the army concerning their subsequent operations.

The ravages committed on the towns of the coast of Connecticut excited complaints and murmurings among the people, because they were left unprotected, and exposed to the ruthless deprcdations of the enemy. But general Washington's army was too feeble at once to defend the passes in the highlands and afford protection to the coast. In order, therefore, to quiet the murmuring of the people, and to withdraw the British troops from Connecticut, he was powerfully induced to undertake some enterprise on the Hudson; and the posts at King's Ferry seemed the most eligible point for striking an effective blow.

General Washington procured good information concerning the state of those posts; and in person took a view of Stony Point, the main object of attack. From

all the information which he obtained, as well as from his own observation, he was convinced that there was little probability of success against that fort but by surprise. The attempt was hazardous; for Stony Point is a commanding hill, projecting far into the Hudson, which washes three fourths of its base. The remaining fourth is in a great measure covered by a deep marsh, commencing near the river on the upper side, and continuing till it joins it below the fort. The marsh was passable only at one place; but at its junction with the river there is a sandy beach, which may be passed at ebb tide. The fort stood on the summit of the hill, and was well provided with artillery. Several breastworks and strong batteries were raised in front of the principal fortification, and there were two rows of abatis about half way down the hill. The fort was garrisoned by about 600 men, under lieutenant-colonel Johnson; and several vessels of war were stationed in the river, so as to command the ground at the foot of the hill.

At mid-day, on the 15th of July, the detachment appointed to surprise the fort marched from Sandy Beach, fourteen miles distant from Stony Point, under the command of general Wayne. The road was mountainous, rugged, and difficult; the heat was intense; and it was eight in the evening before the van of the party reached Spring Heels, a mile and a half from the fort. There the detachment halted and formed, while general Wayne and some of his officers proceeded to take a view of the works. At half-past eleven the party, in two columns, advanced towards the garrison. One hundred and fifty volunteers, under colonel Fleury and major Povey, formed the van of the right; 100 volunteers, led by major Stewart, composed the van of the left. Both advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets, and each was preceded by a forlorn hope of twenty men, conducted by lieutenants Gibbon and Knox, to remove the abatis and other obstructions, and to open a passage for the columns which followed close in their rear. Having taken care to secure every person on the route who could give

information of their approach, the columns reached the marsh undiscovered. In crossing it, unexpected difficulties occurred; and it was twenty minutes past twelve when the attack commenced. A tremendous discharge of musketry and grape-shot immediately opened on the assailants; but both columns impetuously rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot soon got complete possession of the fort.

This was a brilliant exploit; and the assailants gained nobler and more permanent laurels by their humanity than their bravery; for although the place was taken by storm, and the American troops were greatly exasperated by the merciless ravages and wanton devastations committed on the coast of Connecticut, yet not one individual of the garrison suffered after resistance ceased. Of the garrison twenty men were killed in the conflict, including one captain; and seventy-four wounded, among whom were six officers. The Americans had sixty-three men killed, including two officers; but their wounded did not exceed forty. Of the twenty men in lieutenant Gibbon's forlorn hope, seventeen were either killed or wounded. The prisoners amounted to 543, and among them were one lieutenant-colonel, four captains, and twenty subaltern officers. The military stores in the fort were considerable.

An attack on Fort la Fayette also was part of the plan; and two brigades, under general M'Dougall, were ordered to proceed towards it, and to be in readiness to attack it as soon as they should be informed of general Wayne's success against Stony Point. But M'Dougall was not forward in time; and the garrison of Fort la Fayette, where colonel Webster commanded, had time to prepare for resistance. Wayne turned the artillery of Stony Point against the British ships, and compelled them to drop down the river beyond the reach of his guns. He also fired on Verplank's Point; but so great was the distance that his shot made little impression on the works. The critical moment for assaulting Fort la Fayette having been lost, the plan of operation against

it was changed. M'Dougall's detachment was intrusted to general Howe, and he was provided with some battering cannon, to make a breach in the fortifications; but, before he was ready to act against the place, he found it expedient to retreat.

Immediately after the conference with sir George Collier, sir Henry Clinton was informed of the surprise of Stony Point, and of the danger of Fort la Fayette. He instantly abandoned his design against New London and the coast of Connecticut; recalled his transports and troops from the sound; moved his army to Dobb's Ferry; despatched general Stirling up the river with a body of troops in transports to the assistance of colonel Webster; and soon followed in person with a larger force, in the expectation that general Washington would be induced to leave his strong position, and hazard a battle for the possession of Stony Point. But the failure of the design against Fort la Fayette rendered the possession of Stony Point a matter of no great importance; because the works on Verplank's Point effectually prevented the communication by King's Ferry between the states on the east and west of the Hudson; and the command of that ferry constituted the chief value of the forts on Stony Point and Verplank's Neck, as, when it was closed, the intercourse with the eastern states could be kept up only by a very circuitous route. Stony Point, it was thought, could not be retained without a garrison of 1500 men; a force general Washington could not spare from his little army, which was not more than 9000 strong. Besides, as the British had the entire command of the river, they had fortified Stony Point only on the land side; but, if the Americans had kept possession of the post, it would have been as necessary to fortify it towards the river as towards the land. Therefore general Washington deemed it expedient to evacuate the place, after having to a certain extent demolished the works.

On his arrival, sir Henry Clinton again took possession of Stony Point; ordered the fortifications to be repaired; stationed a strong garrison in the fort, under brigadier-

general Stirling; and, finding that general Washington could not be drawn from his strong position in the highlands, he again sailed down the river.

Scarcely had sir George Collier, who had accompanied the commander-in-chief on this expedition, returned to New York, when he was informed that a fleet of armed vessels, with transports and troops, had sailed from Boston to attack a post which general M'Lean was establishing at Penobscot, in the eastern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay. He immediately got ready for sea that part of the naval force which was at New York, and on the 3d of August sailed to relieve the garrison of Penobscot.

In the month of June, general M'Lean, who commanded the royal troops in Nova Scotia, arrived in the bay of Penobscot with nearly 700 men, in order to establish a post, which might at once be a means of checking the incursions of the Americans into Nova Scotia, and of supplying the royal yards at Halifax with ship timber, which abounded in that part of the country. This establishment alarmed the government of Massachusetts Bay, which resolved to dislodge M'Lean, and, with great promptitude, equipped a fleet and raised troops for that purpose. The fleet, which consisted of fifteen vessels of war, carrying from thirty-two to twelve guns each, with transports, was commanded by commodore Saltonstal; the army, amounting to between three and four thousand militia, was under the orders of general Lovell.

General M'Lean chose for his post a peninsula on the east side of Penobscot Bay, which is about seven leagues wide and seventeen deep, terminating at the point where the river Penobscot flows into it. M'Lean's station was nine miles from the bottom of the bay. As that part of the country was then an unbroken forest, he cleared away the wood on the peninsula, and began to construct a fort, in which he was assisted and protected by the crews of three sloops of war which had escorted him thither. M'Lean heard of the expedition against him on the 21st of July, when he had made little progress

in the erection of his fort. On the 25th the American fleet appeared in the bay; but, owing to the opposition of the British sloops of war, and to the bold and rugged nature of the shore, the troops did not effect a landing till the 28th. This interval M'Lean improved with such laborious diligence that his fortifications were in a state of considerable forwardness. Lovell erected a battery within 750 yards of the works: for nearly a fortnight a brisk cannonade was kept up, and preparations were made to assault the fort. But, on the 13th of August, Lovell was informed that sir George Collier, with a superior naval force, had entered the bay; therefore in the night he silently embarked his troops and cannon, unperceived by the garrison, which was every moment in expectation of being assaulted.

On the approach of the British fleet, the Americans, after some show of preparation for resistance, betook themselves to flight. A general pursuit and unresisted destruction ensued. The Warren, a fine new frigate of thirty-two guns, and fourteen other vessels of inferior force, were either blown up or taken. The transports fled in confusion; and, after having landed the troops in a wild and uncultivated part of the country, were burnt. The men, destitute of provisions and other necessaries, had to explore their way for more than 100 miles through an uninhabited and pathless wilderness, and many of them perished before reaching the settled country. After this successful exploit sir George Collier returned to New York, where he resigned the command of the fleet to admiral Arbuthnot, who had arrived from England with some ships of war, and with provisions, stores, and reinforcements for the army.

On descending the river, after replacing the garrison of Stony Point, sir Henry Clinton encamped above Haerlem, with his upper posts at Kingsbridge. General Washington remained in his strong position in the highlands, but frequently detached numerous parties on both sides of the river, in order to check the British foragers, and to restrain the intercourse with the loyal-

ists. Major Lee, who commanded one of those parties, planned a bold and hazardous enterprise against the British post at Powle's Hook, on the Jersey bank of the river, opposite the town of New York. That post was strongly fortified and of difficult access, and therefore the garrison thought themselves secure. But major Lee determined to make an attempt on the place; and chose the morning of the 20th of August for his enterprise, when part of the garrison was absent on a foraging excursion. Advancing silently at the head of 300 men, the sentinel at the gate mistook his party for that which had marched out the preceding day, and allowed them to pass unchallenged; and, almost in an instant, they seized the block-house and two redoubts before the alarm was given. Major Sutherland, commandant of the post, with sixty Hessians, entered a redoubt, and began a brisk fire on the assailants. This gave an extensive notice of the attack; and the firing of guns in New York, and by the shipping in the roads, proved that the alarm was widely spread. In order, therefore, not to hazard the loss of his party, major Lee retreated, with the loss of two men killed and three wounded, carrying along with him about 150 prisoners. Notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which he had to encounter, he effected his retreat. It was not his design to keep possession of the place; but to carry off the garrison, reflect credit on the American arms, and encourage a spirit of enterprise in the army

CHAP. II.

ATTACK ON THE INDIAN TRIBES BY SULLIVAN. — D'ESTAING AND THE AMERICANS BESIEGE THE TOWN OF SAVANNAH. — REPULSED. — SPAIN TAKES PART IN THE WAR. — WEAKNESS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES. — SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF CHARLESTOWN. — PROCEEDINGS OF SIR HENRY CLINTON. — COLONEL BURFORD SURPRISED. — SIR HENRY CLINTON'S PROCLAMATION.

THE western frontier of the United States was near the dwellings of a number of Indian tribes; and these six nations, the Mohawks, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, Onandagos, and Senecas, distinguished by their confederacy, policy, and bravery, possessed the extensive and fertile country lying between the vicinity of Albany and lake Erie. From their long intercourse with Europeans, those nations had acquired a relish for some of the comforts of civilised life, and entertained more enlarged views than most of the North American tribes of the advantages of private property. Their populous villages contained some comfortable houses, and their fertile fields and rich orchards yielded an abundant supply of maize and fruit.

To gain the friendship of these confederated nations, and of the other Indian tribes on the frontier of the United States, had, from the beginning of the war, been an object of attention both to the British government and to congress. But former habits, together with rum, presents, and promises from the agents at the British posts on the lakes, secured to the royal cause the support of the greater part of the Six Nations; while a few, chiefly the Oneidas, espoused the interests of America.

Many of the loyalists who had been obliged to flee from the United States took refuge among the Indians, and at once increased their strength and whetted their ferocity. Even the savages were ashamed of their ruthless cruelty; and Indian chiefs have been heard to declare that they never would permit white men to ac-

company them in their military expeditions, because of the horrible enormities which they perpetrated. Of the murderous cruelty of the savage whites we have a striking instance in the infamous conduct of Butler at Wyoming, during the preceding campaign. In that lamentable catastrophe the Six Nations had taken an active part, and they were meditating fresh hostilities. Their bloody incursions excited a strong sensation throughout the United States, and produced the resolution to lead an overwhelming force into their territory, and to destroy their settlements.

The largest division of the army employed on that service assembled at Wyoming on a chief branch of the Susquehannah. Another division, which had wintered on the Mohawk, marched under the orders of general Clinton, and joined the main body at the confluence of the two great sources of the Susquehannah. On the 22d of August the united force, amounting to nearly 5000 men, under the command of general Sullivan, proceeded up the Cayuga, or western branch of the last-named river, which led directly into the Indian country. The preparations for this expedition did not escape the notice of those against whom it was directed, and the Indians seem fully to have penetrated Sullivan's plan of operation. Formidable as his force was, they determined to meet him, and try the fortune of a battle. They were about 1000 strong, commanded by the two Butlers, Guy Johnson, M'Donald, and Branett. They chose their ground with judgment, and fortified their camp at some distance above Chemang, and a mile in front of Newtown.

There Sullivan attacked them; and, after a short but spirited resistance, they retreated with precipitation. The Americans had thirty men killed or wounded; the Indians left only eleven dead bodies on the field: but they were so discouraged by this defeat, that they abandoned their villages and fields to the unresisted ravages of the victor, who laid waste their towns and orchards, so that they might have no inducement again to settle

so near the States. The members of civilised society too faithfully imitated the savage enemy whom they assailed, in all the enormities of barbarous warfare.

This expedition gave little satisfaction to any of the parties concerned in planning or executing it. Sullivan gave a pompous account of his success: but congress did not applaud; general Washington was not pleased; and Sullivan in disgust resigned his commission, and retired from the public service. In the course of the summer, the Indians on the southern frontier were also severely chastised; but although unable to resist the force sent against them, they made some sanguinary incursions into the provinces.

We have already seen that admiral count d'Estaing, after repairing his ships at Boston, sailed to the West Indies; whither he was followed by admiral Byron with the British fleet, having on board a detachment of the army at New York, under general Grant. The French took the islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada. and spread a general alarm throughout the West Indies. The British made themselves masters of St. Lucie; but this did not compensate the loss of the islands already named. The season of the hurricanes approached; and D'Estaing, after an indecisive engagement with the British fleet, sailed towards the coast of North America.

Although general Prevost had been obliged to retire from Charlestown, and to abandon the upper parts of Georgia; yet so long as he kept possession of the town of Savannah, and maintained a post at Beaufort, South Carolina was much exposed to hostile incursions. Therefore governor Rutledge and general Lincoln earnestly pressed D'Estaing to repair to the Savannah, hoping by his aid to drive the British from Georgia. Plombard, the French consul at Charlestown, joined in these solicitations. In compliance with their importunity, D'Estaing sailed from Cape François, in St. Domingo; and with twenty-two sail of the line, and a number of smaller vessels, having 6000 soldiers on board, appeared off the

Savannah so unexpectedly, that the Experiment, a fifty gun ship, and some other British vessels, fell into his hands.

General Lincoln, with about 1000 men, marched to Zubly's Ferry on the Savannah, but found more difficulty than he had anticipated in crossing the river and its marshes. On the evening of the 13th of September, however, he reached the southern bank, and encamped on the heights of Ebenezer, twenty-three miles from the town of Savannah. There he was joined by colonel M'Intosh, with his detachment, from Augusta. Pulaski's legion also arrived in camp. On the same day that Lincoln passed Zubly's Ferry, D'Estaing landed 3000 men at Beaulieu; and on the 16th of September the combined armies united their strength before the town of Savannah. That place was the head-quarters of general Prevost, who commanded the British troops in the southern provinces. Apprehending no immediate danger, he had weakened his garrison by establishing some distant outposts in Georgia, and by leaving colonel Maitland with a strong detachment at Beaufort, in the island of Port Royal in South Carolina: but on the appearance of the French fleet, he immediately called in all his outposts; and before the French landed, or the Americans crossed the river, all the British detachments in Georgia had assembled at the town of Savannah, and amounted to nearly 2000 men.

Even before the arrival of Lincoln, D'Estaing had summoned the place to surrender. But although general Prevost had exerted himself with great activity in strengthening the defences of the place from the moment that he heard of the appearance of the French fleet on the coast, yet his works were incomplete, and he was desirous of gaining time. He requested a suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, which was granted him. In that critical interval, colonel Maitland, by extraordinary efforts, arrived with the garrison of Beaufort, and entered the town. Encouraged by this accession of strength, general Prevost now informed count d'Estaing

that he was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. The combined armies determined to besiege the town, and made the necessary preparations for that purpose. Several days were spent in bringing up heavy artillery and stores from the fleet; and on the 23d of September, the besieging army broke ground before the town. Against the 1st of October, they had advanced within 300 yards of the British works. Several batteries, mounting thirty-three pieces of heavy cannon and nine mortars, had for several days played incessantly on the garrison; and a floating battery of sixteen guns had also opened upon it from the river. But this cannonade made little impression on the works.

The situation of D'Estaing became extremely unpleasant. More time had already been spent in the siege than he had allotted for the expulsion of the British troops from that province. The French West India islands were exposed to danger in his absence; the tempestuous season of the year was setting in; a superior British fleet might come against him; and his officers strongly remonstrated against remaining longer in the Savannah. By continuing their regular approaches for a few days more, the besiegers would probably have made themselves masters of the place; but these few days D'Estaing could not spare. No alternative remained but to raise the siege, or storm the place. The last of these the French commander resolved to attempt. For that purpose, on the morning of the 9th of October, a heavy cannonade and bombardment opened on the town. Three thousand French, and 1500 Americans, led by D'Estaing and Lincoln, advanced in three columns to the assault. But the garrison was fully prepared to receive them: the works were skilfully constructed, and diligently strengthened; and the assailants met with a warmer reception than they had anticipated. A well-directed and destructive fire from the batteries opened upon them; but they resolutely advanced, broke through the abatis, crossed the ditch, and mounted the parapet. The French and Americans, with emulous valour, each

planted a standard on a redoubt; but fell in great numbers in endeavouring to force their way into the works. While the assailants were vigorously opposed in front, the batteries galled their flanks. Count Pulaski, at the head of 200 horsemen, galloped between the batteries towards the town, with the intention of charging the garrison in the rear: but he fell mortally wounded, and his squadron was broken. The vigour of the assailants began to abate; and, after a desperate conflict of fifty minutes, they were driven from the works, and sounded a retreat.

In this unsuccessful attack the French lost 700 men in killed and wounded, among the latter was count d'Estaing himself; and the Americans 240. As the garrison, consisting of more than 2000 men, fought for the most part under cover, their loss was comparatively small, amounting only to fifty-five men.

General Prevost, and colonel Moncrieff, the engineer who directed the construction of the works, acquired much reputation by the successful defence of the town. The British troops behaved with their characteristic bravery. Not more than ten guns were mounted when the place was summoned, but in a few days upwards of eighty were on the batteries. Both the French and Americans displayed much courage and steadiness in the attack; and, although unsuccessful, yet, instead of mutual accusations and reproaches, their respect for each other was increased.

After this repulse no hope of taking the town remained; and count d'Estaing having removed his heavy artillery, both armies left their ground on the evening of the 18th of October. D'Estaing marched only two miles that evening, and remained in the same encampment next day, in order to cover general Lincoln's retreat, and secure him from a pursuit by the garrison. The Americans re-crossed the Savannah at Zubly's Ferry, and took a position in South Carolina. The militia returned home. The French, with all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, embarked without delay; but scarcely were

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they on board when a violent storm arose, which so completely dispersed the fleet, that, of seven ships which the admiral ordered to Hampton Road in Chesapeake Bay, one only was able to reach that place.

From the arrival of the French to assist in the siege of Savannah, the Americans had anticipated the most brilliant results; and the discomfiture of the combined forces at that place spread a deep gloom over the southern provinces, where the cause of independence seemed more desperate than at any former period of the war. Their paper money became more depreciated; the hopes of the loyalists revived; and many exiles returned to take possession of their estates; but they were soon obliged again to abandon their property, and to seek refuge among strangers.

On being informed by Lincoln of his circumstances, congress desired general Washington to order the North Carolina troops, and any other detachments he could spare from the northern army, to the aid of the southern provinces. At the same time they assured the inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia of their watchful attention; and recommended to those states the filling up of their continental regiments, and a due regard to their militia while on actual service.

During the siege of Savannah, an ingenious enterprise of partisan warfare was executed by colonel White of the Georgia line. Before the arrival of the French fleet in the Savannah, a British captain, with 111 men, had taken post near the river Ogeeche, twenty-five miles from Savannah. At the same place were five British vessels, four of which were armed, the largest with fourteen guns, the least with four; and the vessels were manned with forty sailors. Late at night, on the 30th of September, White, who had only six volunteers, including his own servant, kindled a number of fires in different places, so as to exhibit the appearance of a considerable encampment, practised several other corresponding artifices, and then summoned the captain

instantly to surrender. That officer, believing that he was about to be attacked by a superior force, and that nothing but immediate submission could save him and his men from destruction, made no defence. The stratagem was carried on with so much address, that the prisoners, amounting to 141, were secured, and conducted to the American post at Sunbury, twenty-five miles distant.

While these events were passing in America, the number of the belligerents increased in Europe. The cabinet of Versailles, after engaging in the war, was desirous of drawing Spain into the quarrel: his catholic majesty, however, was not forward in rushing to battle, but was drawn into it slowly and reluctantly. He was willing to assist in weakening the power and humbling the pride of England; but he dreaded the effects which the independence of North America might produce on his own subjects in the southern parts of that continent; and perhaps he was not without uneasy feelings at the prospect of encountering the formidable power of Britain. These considerations gave an appearance of irresolution to his conduct, and for a while rendered it uncertain what course he would pursue: but the influence of France, and jealousy of the power of Britain, at last prevailed, and determined him to exert the strength of his kingdom, in order to prevent the subjugation of the American provinces by the British crown. Charles's hatred of Britain, originating in the bombardment of Naples when he was there, excited much rancour, which, however, was for a time counterbalanced by prudential considerations.

The king of Spain, however, wished to attain his end by pacific means: with that view he offered his mediation to the contending powers, which was readily accepted by France, and evaded rather than refused by Britain. After protracted negotiations, no terms could be agreed on; and Spain resolved to unite her arms to those of France in opposing the claims of Britain in America. These allies flattered themselves that their

combined fleets would bear down all opposition, and every where ride triumphant on the ocean.

The failure of the attack on Savannah, with the departure of the French fleet from the coast of America, presented a gloomy prospect, and was the forerunner of many calamities to the southern states. By their courage and vigour the northern provinces had repelled the attacks of the enemy, and discouraged future attempts against them. But, although the brave defence of Sullivan's Island, in 1776, had long concealed the fact, it was now discovered that the southern colonists possessed neither the strength nor vigour of their brethren in the north. The rapid conquest of Georgia, the easy march of Prevost to the very gates of Charlestown, and the timid behaviour of many of the colonists, who were more inclined to save themselves by submission than to assert the independence of their country by force of arms, all pointed out the southern states as the most vulnerable part of the Union, and invited an attack in that quarter. In the north the campaigns of 1778 and 1779 had produced no important results; and therefore the late transactions in Georgia and South Carolina more readily drew the attention of the British commander-in-chief to those states.

Savannah, the chief town of Georgia, was in the hands of the British troops, and had been successfully defended against a combined attack of the French and Americans; and, therefore, sir Henry Clinton resolved to gain possession of Charlestown also, the capital of South Carolina, which would give him the command of all the southern parts of the Union. Having made the necessary preparations, he sailed from New York on the 26th of December, under convoy of admiral Arbuthnot, but did not arrive at Savannah till the end of January. The voyage was tempestuous: some of the transports and victuallers were lost, others shattered, and a few taken by the American cruisers. Most of the cavalry and draught horses perished. One of the transports, which had been separated from the fleet, was

brought into Charlestown on the 23d of January; and the prisoners gave the first certain notice of the destination of the expedition.

As soon as it was known that an armament was fitting out at New York, many suspected that the southern states were to be assailed; and such was the unhappy posture of American affairs at that time, that no sanguine expectations of a successful resistance could be reasonably entertained. The magazines of the Union were every where almost empty; and congress had neither money nor credit to replenish them. The army at Morristown, under the immediate orders of general Washington, was threatened with destruction by want of provisions; and, consequently, could neither act with vigour in the north, nor send reinforcements to the south.

General Lincoln, though aware of his danger, was not in a condition to meet it. On raising the siege of Savannah, he had sent the troops of Virginia to Augusta; those of South Carolina were stationed partly at Sheldon, opposite Port Royal, between thirty and forty miles north from Savannah, and partly in Fort Moultrie, which had been allowed to fall into decay; those of North Carolina were with general Lincoln at Charlestown. All those detachments formed but a feeble force, and to increase it was not easy; for the colonial paper money was in a state of great depreciation; the militia, worn out by a harassing service, were reluctant again to repair to the standards of their country; and the brave defence of Savannah had inspired the people of the southern provinces with intimidating notions of British valour. The patriotism of many of the colonists had evaporated; they contemplated nothing but the hardships and dangers of the contest, and recoiled from the protracted struggle.

In these discouraging circumstances, congress recommended it to the people of South Carolina to arm their slaves; a measure from which they were generally averse; and, although they had been willing to comply with the

recommendation, arms could not have been procured. Congress ordered the continental troops of North Carolina and Virginia to march to Charlestown; and four American frigates, two French ships of war, the one mounting twenty-six and the other eighteen guns, with the marine force of South Carolina under commodore Whipple, were directed to co-operate in the defence of the town. No more aid could be expected; yet, even in these unpromising circumstances, a full house of assembly resolved to defend Charlestown to the last extremity.

Although sir Henry Clinton had embarked at New York on the 26th of December, 1779, yet, as his voyage had been stormy and tedious, and as some time had been necessarily spent at Savannah, it was the 11th of February, 1780, before he landed on John's Island, thirty miles south from Charlestown. Had he even then marched rapidly upon the town, he would probably have entered it without much opposition; but, mindful of his repulse in 1776, his progress was marked by a wary circumspection. He proceeded by the islands of St. John and St. James, while part of his fleet advanced to blockade the harbour. He sent for a reinforcement from New York, ordered general Prevost to join him with 1100 men from Savannah, and neglected nothing that could ensure success.

Meanwhile governor Rutledge, with such of his council as he could conveniently consult, was invested with a dictatorial authority, and empowered to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen without legal trial. The assembly, after delegating to the governor this power till ten days after its next session, dissolved itself.

Governor Rutledge and general Lincoln were indefatigable in improving the time which the slow progress of the royal army afforded them. Six hundred slaves were employed in constructing or repairing the fortifications of the town; vigorous though not very successful measures were taken to bring the militia into the

field; and all the small detachments of regular troops were assembled in the capital. The works which had been begun on Charlestown Neck, when general Prevost threatened the place, were resumed. A chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, was formed between the Cooper and Ashley. In front of each flank the works were covered by swamps extending from the rivers; these opposite swamps were connected by a canal; between the canal and the works were two strong rows of abatis, and a ditch double picketed, with deep holes at short distances, to break the columns in case of an assault. Towards the water, works were thrown up at every place where a landing was practicable. The vessels intended to defend the bar of the harbour having been found insufficient for that purpose, their guns were taken out and planted on the ramparts, and the seamen were stationed at the batteries. One of the ships, which was not dismantled, was placed in the river Cooper, to assist the batteries; and several vessels were sunk at the mouth of the channel, to prevent the entrance of the royal navy. General Lincoln hoped that, if the town could be for a while defended, such reinforcements would arrive from the north as, together with the militia of the state, would compel sir Henry Clinton to raise the siege. As the regular troops in the town did not exceed 1400, a council of war found that the garrison was too weak to spare detachments to obstruct the progress of the royal army. Only a small party of cavalry and some light troops, were ordered to hover on its left flank and observe its motions.

While those preparations for defence were going on in Charlestown, the British army was cautiously but steadily advancing towards the town. As he proceeded, sir Henry Clinton erected forts and formed magazines at proper stations, and was careful to secure his communications with those forts and with the sea. All the horses of the British army had perished in the tedious and stormy voyage from New York to Savannah; but, on landing in South Carolina, sir Henry Clinton procured

others to mount his dragoons, whom he formed into a light corps, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. That officer was extremely active in covering the left wing of the army, and in dispersing the militia. In one of his excursions he fell in with lieutenant-colonel Washington, who commanded the remnant of Baylor's regiment, and who beat him back with loss.

On the 20th of March the British fleet under admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four each, four of thirty-two each, and an armed vessel, passed the bar in front of Rebellion Road, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American naval force, under commodore Whipple, retreated first to Sullivan's Island, and afterwards to Charlestown, where, as already mentioned, the ships were dismantled and the crews employed on the works. On the 9th of April admiral Arbuthnot, taking advantage of a strong southerly wind and a flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie, and anchored just without reach of the guns of Charlestown. The fort kept up a heavy fire on the fleet while passing, which did some damage to the ships, and killed or wounded twenty-seven men.

On the 29th of March the royal army reached Ashley river, and crossed it ten miles above the town without opposition; the garrison being too weak to dispute the passage. Having brought over his artillery, baggage, and stores, sir Henry Clinton marched down Charlestown Neck; and, on the night of the 1st of April, broke ground at the distance of 800 yards from the American works.

The fortifications of Charlestown were constructed under the direction of Mr. Laumoy, a French engineer of reputation in the American service; and, although not calculated to resist a regular siege, were by no means contemptible: and the British general made his approaches in due form. Meanwhile the garrison received a reinforcement of 700 continentals under general Woodford; and, after this accession of strength, amounted to somewhat more than 2000 regular troops,

besides 1000 militia of North Carolina, and the citizens of Charlestown. Governor Rutledge made every effort to raise the militia of the province, but with little success; for not more than 200 of them were in the capital.

On the 9th of April, the British commander finished his first parallel, forming an oblique line between the two rivers, from 600 to 1100 yards from the American works; and mounted his guns in battery. He then, jointly with the admiral, summoned general Lincoln to surrender the town. Lincoln's answer was modest and firm: — "Sixty days," said he, "have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time was afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity."

On receiving this answer, sir Henry Clinton immediately opened his batteries; and his fire was soon felt to be superior to that of the besieged. Hitherto the communication with the country north of the Cooper was open, and a post was established to prevent the investiture of the town on that side. After the summons, governor Rutledge, with half of his council, left the town, for the purpose of exercising the functions of the executive government in the state, and in the hope of being able to bring a large body of the militia to act on the rear or left flank of the besieging army: but the militia were as little inclined to embody themselves as to enter the town.

For the purpose of maintaining the communication with the country north of the Cooper, of checking the British foragers, and of protecting supplies on their way to the town, the American cavalry, under general Huger, had passed the river and taken post at Monk's Corner, thirty miles above Charlestown. Posts of militia were established between the Cooper and Santee, and at a ferry on the last named river, where boats were ordered to be collected in order to facilitate the passage of the garrison, if it should be found necessary to evacuate the

town. But the activity and enterprise of the British general defeated all those precautions. For as the possession of the harbour rendered the occupation of the forts to the southward unnecessary, sir Henry Clinton resolved to call in the troops which had been employed in that quarter, to close the communication of the garrison with the country to the northward, and to complete the investiture of the town. For those purposes, as the fleet was unable to enter the river Cooper, he deemed it necessary to dislodge the American posts, and employed lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to beat up the quarters of the cavalry at Monk's Corner. Conducted, during the night by a negro slave, through unfrequented paths, Tarleton proceeded towards the American post; and, although the commander of the party had taken the precaution of placing sentinels a mile in front of his station, and of keeping his horses saddled and bridled, yet Tarleton advanced so rapidly that, notwithstanding the alarm was given by the outposts, he began the attack before the Americans could put themselves in a posture of defence; killed or took about thirty of them, and dispersed the rest. Such as escaped concealed themselves for several days in the swamps. The horses taken by the British fell very seasonably into their hands, as they were not well mounted. After this decisive blow, it was some time before any armed party of the Americans ventured to show themselves south of the Santee. That part of the country was laid open to the British, who established posts in such a way as completely to enclose the garrison. The arrival of three thousand men from New York greatly increased the strength of the besiegers.

The second parallel was completed; and it daily became more apparent that the garrison must ultimately submit. An evacuation of the town was proposed, and general Lincoln seems to have been favourable to the measure; but the garrison could scarcely have escaped, and the principal inhabitants entreated the general not to abandon them to the fury of the enemy.

The British troops on the north of the Cooper were

increased, and lord Cornwallis was appointed to command in that quarter. On the 20th of April, general Lincoln again called a council of war to deliberate on the measures to be adopted. The council recommended a capitulation; terms were offered, but rejected; and hostilities recommenced. After the besiegers had begun their third parallel, colonel Henderson made a vigorous sally on their right, which was attended with some success; but, owing to the weakness of the garrison, this was the only attempt of the kind during the siege.

After the fleet passed it, Fort Moultrie became of much less importance than before, and part of the garrison was removed to Charlestown. The admiral, perceiving the unfinished state of the works on the west side, prepared to storm it. On the 7th of May, every thing being ready for the assault, he summoned the garrison, consisting of 200 men, who, being convinced of their inability to defend the place, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, without firing a gun. On the same day, the cavalry which had escaped from Monk's Corner, and which had re-assembled under the command of colonel White, were again surprised and defeated by colonel Tarleton. After Lord Cornwallis had passed the Cooper, and made himself master of the peninsula between that river and the Santee, he occasionally sent out small foraging parties. Apprised of that circumstance, colonel White repassed the Santee, fell in with and took one of those parties, and despatched an express to colonel Burford, who commanded a regiment of new levies from Virginia, requesting him to cover his retreat across the Santee at Lanneau's Ferry, where he had ordered some boats to be collected to carry his party over the river. Colonel White reached the ferry before Burford's arrival, and thinking himself in no immediate danger, halted to refresh his party. Lord Cornwallis, having received notice of his incursion, despatched Tarleton in pursuit, who, overtaking him a few minutes after he had halted, instantly charged him, killed or took about thirty of the party, and dispersed the rest.

Charlestown was now completely invested; all hopes of assistance had been cruelly disappointed; and the garrison and inhabitants were left to their own resources. The troops were exhausted by incessant duty, and insufficient to man the lines. Many of the guns were dismounted, the shot nearly expended, and the bread and meat almost entirely consumed. The works of the besiegers were pushed very near the defences of the town, and the issue of an assault was extremely hazardous to the garrison and inhabitants. In these critical circumstances general Lincoln summoned a council of war, which recommended a capitulation. Terms were accordingly proposed, offering to surrender the town and garrison, on condition that the militia and armed citizens should not be prisoners of war, but should be allowed to return home without molestation. These terms were refused; hostilities recommenced, and preparations for an assault were in progress. The citizens, who had formerly remonstrated against the departure of the garrison, now became clamorous for a surrender. In this hopeless state, general Lincoln offered to give up the place, on the terms which sir Henry Clinton had formerly proposed. The offer was accepted; and the capitulation was signed on the 12th of May.

The town and fortifications, the shipping, artillery, and all public stores, were to be given up as they then were; the garrison, consisting of the continental troops, militia, sailors, and citizens who had borne arms during the siege, were to be prisoners of war; the garrison were to march out of the town, and lay down their arms in front of the works, but their drums were not to beat a British march, and their colours were not to be uncased; the continental troops and sailors were to be conducted to some place afterwards to be agreed on, where they were to be well supplied with wholesome provisions till exchanged; the militia were to be allowed to go home on parole; the officers were to retain their arms, baggage, and servants, and they might sell their horses, but were not permitted to take them out of Charlestown;

neither the persons nor property of the militia or citizens were to be molested, so long as they kept their parole.

On these terms the garrison of Charlestown marched out and laid down their arms, and general Leslie was appointed by the British commander-in-chief to take possession of the town. The siege was more obstinate than bloody. The besiegers had 76 men killed, and 189 wounded; the besieged had 92 killed, and 148 wounded: about twenty of the inhabitants were killed in their houses by random shots. The number of prisoners reported by the British commander-in-chief amounted to upwards of 5000, exclusive of sailors; but in that return all the freemen of the town capable of bearing arms, as well as the continental soldiers and militia, were included. The number of continental troops in the town amounted only to 1777, about 500 of whom were in the hospital. The effective strength of the garrison was between 2000 and 3000 men. The besieging army consisted of about 9000 of the best of the British troops.

After the British got possession of the town, the arms taken from the Americans, amounting to 5000 stand, were lodged in a laboratory, near a large quantity of cartridges and loose powder. By incautiously snapping the muskets and pistols, the guard inflamed the powder, which blew up the house; and the burning fragments, which were scattered in all directions, set fire to the workhouse, gaol, and old barracks, and consumed them. The British guard stationed at the place, consisting of fifty men, was destroyed, and about as many other persons lost their lives on the disastrous occasion.

Sir Henry Clinton carried on the siege in a cautious but steady and skilful manner. General Lincoln was loaded with undeserved blame by many of his countrymen; for he conducted the defence as became a brave and intelligent officer. The error lay in attempting to defend the town; but, in the circumstances in which general Lincoln was placed, he was almost unavoidably drawn into that course. It was the desire of the state

that the capital should be defended; and congress, as well as North and South Carolina, had encouraged him to expect that his army would be increased to 9000 men; a force which might have successfully resisted all the efforts of the royal army. But neither congress nor the Carolinas were able to fulfil the promises which they had made; for the militia were extremely backward to take the field, and the expected number of continentals could not be furnished. General Lincoln, therefore, was left to defend the place with about only one third of the force which he had been encouraged to expect. At any time before the middle of April, he might have evacuated the town; but the civil authority then opposed his retreat, which soon afterwards became difficult, and ultimately impracticable.

The fall of Charlestown was matter of much exultation to the British, and spread a deep gloom over the aspect of American affairs. The southern army was lost; and, although small, it could not soon be replaced. In the southern parts of the Union there had always been a considerable number of persons friendly to the claims of Britain. The success of her arms roused all their lurking partialities, gave decision to the conduct of the wavering, encouraged the timid, drew over to the British cause all those who are ever ready to take part with the strongest, and discouraged and intimidated the friends of congress.

Sir Henry Clinton was perfectly aware of the important advantage which he had gained; and resolved to keep up and deepen the impression on the public mind, by the rapidity of his movements and the appearance of his troops in different parts of the country. For that purpose he sent a strong detachment, under earl Cornwallis, over the Santee, towards the frontier of North Carolina. He despatched a second, of inferior force, into the centre of the province; and sent a third up the Savannah to Augusta. These detachments were instructed to disperse any small parties that still remained in arms, and to show the people that the British troops were complete masters of South Carolina and Georgia.

Soon after passing the Santee, lord Cornwallis was informed that colonel Buford was lying, with 400 men, in perfect security, near the border of North Carolina. He immediately despatched colonel Tarleton, with his cavalry, named the Legion, to surprise that party. After performing a march of 104 miles in fifty-four hours, Tarleton, at the head of 700 men, overtook Buford on his march, at the Waxhaws, and ordered him to surrender, offering him the same terms which had been granted to the garrison of Charlestown. On Buford's refusal, Tarleton instantly charged the party, who were dispirited, and unprepared for such an onset. Most of them threw down their arms, and made no resistance; but a few continued firing; and an indiscriminate slaughter ensued of those who had submitted as well as of those who resisted. Many begged for quarter, but no quarter was given. *Tarleton's quarter* became proverbial throughout the Union, and certainly rendered some subsequent conflicts more fierce and bloody than they would otherwise have been. Buford and a few horsemen forced their way through the enemy and escaped: some of the infantry, also, who were somewhat in advance, saved themselves by flight; but the regiment was almost annihilated. Tarleton stated that 113 were killed on the spot; 150 left on parole, so badly wounded that they could not be removed; and 53 brought away as prisoners. So feeble was the resistance made by the Americans, that the British had only twelve men killed and five wounded. The slaughter on this occasion excited much indignation in America. The British endeavoured to justify their conduct, by asserting that the Americans resumed their arms after having pretended to submit; but such of the American officers as escaped from the carnage denied the allegation. For this exploit Tarleton was highly praised by earl Cornwallis.

After the defeat of Buford, there were no parties in South Carolina or Georgia capable of resisting the royal detachments. The armed force of congress in those provinces seemed annihilated; and the spirit of opposition

among the inhabitants was greatly subdued. Many, thinking it vain to contend against a power which they were unable to withstand, took the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, or gave their parole not to bear arms against him.

In order to secure the entire submission of that part of the country, military detachments were stationed at the most commanding points; and measures were pursued for settling the civil administration, and for consolidating the conquest of the provinces. So fully was sir Henry Clinton convinced of the subjugation of the country, and of the sincere submission of the inhabitants, or of their inability to resist, that, on the 3d of June, he issued a proclamation, in which, after stating that all persons should take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government, and in delivering the country from that anarchy which for some time had prevailed, he discharged from their parole the militia who were prisoners, except those only who had been taken in Charlestown and Fort Moultrie, and restored them to all the rights and duties of inhabitants; he also declared that such as should neglect to return to their allegiance should be treated as enemies and rebels.

This proclamation was unjust and impolitic; proceeding on the supposition that the people of those provinces were subdued rebels, restored by an act of clemency to the privileges and duties of citizens; and forgetting that for upwards of four years they had been exercising an independent authority, and that the issue of the war only could stamp on them the character of patriots or rebels. It might easily have been foreseen that the proclamation was to awaken the resentment and alienate the affections of those to whom it was addressed. Many of the colonists had submitted in the fond hope of being released, under the shelter of the British government, from that harassing service to which they had lately been exposed, and of being allowed to attend to their own affairs in a state of peaceful tranquillity; but the proclamation dissipated this delusion, and opened their

eyes to their real situation. Neutrality and peace were what they desired; but neutrality and peace were denied them. If they did not range themselves under the standards of congress, they must, as British subjects, appear as militia in the royal service. The colonists sighed for peace; but, on finding that they must fight on one side or the other, they preferred the banners of their country, and thought they had as good a right to violate the allegiance and parole which sir Henry Clinton had imposed on them, as he had to change their state from that of prisoners to that of British subjects without their consent. They imagined that the proclamation released them from all antecedent obligations. Not a few, without any pretence of reasoning on the subject, deliberately resolved to act a deceitful part, and to make professions of submission and allegiance to the British government so long as they found it convenient, but with the resolution of joining the standards of their country on the first opportunity. Such duplicity and falsehood ought always to be reprobated; but the unsparing rapacity with which the inhabitants were plundered made many of them imagine that no means of deception and vengeance were unjustifiable.

CHAP. III.

SIR HENRY CLINTON RETURNS TO NEW YORK. — LEAVES EARL CORNWALLIS TO COMMAND IN THE SOUTH. — HIS POLICY. — BARON DE KALB PROCEEDS SOUTHWARD. — COLONEL SUMPTER APPEARS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — GENERAL GATES APPOINTED TO THE SOUTHERN ARMY. — AMERICANS TOTALLY DEFEATED NEAR CAMDEN. — SUMPTER DEFEATED.

Hitherto the French fleets and troops had not afforded much direct assistance to the Americans, but they had impeded and embarrassed the operations of the British commander-in-chief. He had intended to sail against

Charlestown so early as the month of September, 1779; but the expected appearance of count d'Estaing on the southern coast had detained him at New York till the latter part of December. It was his intention, after the reduction of Charlestown, vigorously to employ the whole of his force in the subjugation of the adjacent provinces; but information, received about the time of the surrender of the town, that monsieur de Ternay, with a fleet and troops from France, was expected on the American coast, deranged his plan, and induced him to return to New York with the greater part of his army; leaving earl Cornwallis at the head of 4000 men to prosecute the southern conquests. Sir Henry Clinton sailed from Charlestown on the 5th of June.

After the reduction of Charlestown, and the entire defeat of all the American detachments in those parts, an unusual calm ensued for six weeks. Zealous in the cause of his sovereign, and imagining that South Carolina and Georgia were reannexed to the British empire in sentiment as well as in appearance, lord Cornwallis meditated an attack on North Carolina. Impatient, however, as that active officer was of repose, he could not carry his purpose into immediate execution. The great heat, the want of magazines, and the impossibility of subsisting his army in the field before harvest, compelled him to pause. But the interval was not lost. He distributed his troops in such a manner in South Carolina and the upper parts of Georgia, as seemed most favourable to the enlistment of young men who could be prevailed on to join the royal standard; he ordered companies of royal militia to be formed; and he maintained a correspondence with such of the inhabitants of North Carolina as were friendly to the British cause. He informed them of the necessity he was under of postponing the expedition into their country, and advised them to attend to their harvest and to remain quiet till the royal army advanced to support them. Eager, however, to manifest their zeal, and entertaining sanguine hopes of success, they disregarded his salutary

advice, and broke out into premature insurrections, which were vigorously resisted and generally suppressed. But one party of them, amounting to 800 men under a colonel Bryan, marched down the Yadkin to a British post at the Cheraws, and afterwards reached Camden.

Having made the necessary dispositions, lord Cornwallis intrusted the command on the frontier to lord Rawdon, and returned to Charlestown, in order to organise the civil government of the province, and to establish such regulations as circumstances required. But that active officer showed himself more a soldier than a politician. Military government is necessarily a system of despotism and coercion, which is offensive to persons who have been accustomed to exercise their own judgment in the regulation of their conduct. Instead, however, of endeavouring to regain, by kindness and conciliation, the good will of a people whose affections were alienated from the cause in which he was engaged, lord Cornwallis attempted to drive them into allegiance by harshness and severity. Indeed, many of the British officers viewed the Americans merely in the light of rebels and traitors, whose lives it was indulgence to spare; treated them not only with injustice, but with insolence and insult more intolerable than injustice itself; and exercised a rigour which greatly increases the miseries, without promoting the legitimate purposes, of war.

By the capitulation of Charlestown the citizens were prisoners on parole; but successive proclamations were published, each abridging the privileges of prisoners more than that which had gone before. A board of police was established for the administration of justice, and before that board British subjects were allowed to sue for debts, but prisoners were denied that privilege; they were liable to prosecution for debts, but had no security for what was owing them, except the honour of their debtors; and that, in many instances, was found a feeble guarantee. If they complained, they were threatened with close confinement: numbers were im-

prisoned in the town, and others consigned to dungeons at a distance from their families. In short, every method, except that of kindness and conciliation, was resorted to in order to compel the people to become British subjects. A few who had always been well affected to the royal cause, cheerfully returned to their allegiance; and many followed the same course from convenience. To abandon their families and estates, and encounter all the privations of fugitives, required a degree of patriotism and fortitude which few possessed.

In that melancholy posture of American affairs, many of the ladies of Charlestown displayed a remarkable degree of zeal and intrepidity in the cause of their country. They gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies, and declined invitations to public entertainments given by the British officers; but crowded to prison ships and other places of confinement to solace their suffering countrymen. While they kept back from the concerts and assemblies of the victors, they were forward in showing sympathy and kindness towards American officers wherever they met them. They exhorted their brothers, husbands, and sons to an unshrinking endurance in behalf of their country, and cheerfully became the inmates of their prison and the companions of their exile; voluntarily renouncing affluence and ease, and encountering labour, penury, and privation.

For some time the rigorous measures of the British officers in South Carolina seemed successful; and a deathlike stillness prevailed in the province. The clangour of arms ceased, and no enemy to British authority appeared. The people of the lower parts of South Carolina were generally attached to the revolution; but many of their most active leaders were prisoners. The fall of Charlestown, and the subsequent events, had sunk many into despondency, and all were overawed. This gloomy stillness continued about six weeks, when the symptoms of a gathering storm began to show themselves. The oppression and insults to which the people were exposed highly exasperated them: they repented

the apathy with which they had seen the siege of Charlestown carried on; and felt that the fall of their capital, instead of introducing safety and rural tranquillity, as they had fondly anticipated, was only the forerunner of insolent exactions and oppressive services. Peaceful and undisturbed neutrality was what they desired and what they had expected; but when they found themselves compelled to fight, they chose to join the provincial banners, and the most daring only waited an opportunity to show their hostility to their new masters.

Such an opportunity soon presented itself. In the end of March, general Washington despatched the troops of Maryland and Delaware, with a regiment of artillery, under the baron de Kalb, a veteran German officer, who had early engaged in the American service, to reinforce the southern army. That detachment met with many obstructions in its progress southward. Such was the deranged state of the American finances, that it could not be put in motion when the order was given. After setting out, it marched through Jersey and Pennsylvania, embarked at the head of Elk River, was conveyed by water to Petersburgh in Virginia, and proceeded thence towards the place of its destination. But as no magazines had been provided, and as provisions could with difficulty be obtained, the march of the detachment through North Carolina was greatly retarded. Instead of advancing rapidly, the troops were obliged to spread themselves over the country in small parties, in order to collect corn and to get it ground for their daily subsistence. In this way they proceeded slowly through the upper and more fertile parts of North Carolina to Hillsborough, and were preparing to march by Cross Creek to Salisbury, where they expected to be joined by the militia of North Carolina.

The approach of this detachment, together with information that great exertions were making to raise troops in Virginia, encouraged the irritation which the rigorous measures of the British officers had occasioned in South Carolina; and numbers of the inhabitants of

that province, who had fled from their estates and taken refuge in North Carolina and Virginia, informed of the growing discontents in their native province, and relying on the support of regular troops, assembled on the frontier of North Carolina. About 200 of those refugees chose colonel Sumpter, an old continental officer, as their leader. On the advance of the British into the upper parts of South Carolina, this gentleman had fled into North Carolina, but had left his family behind. Soon after his departure a British party arrived, turned his wife and family to the door, and burned his house and every thing in it. This harsh and unfeeling treatment excited his bitterest resentment, which operated with the more virulence by being concealed under the fair veil of patriotism. At the head of his little band, without money or magazines, and but ill-provided with arms and ammunition, Sumpter made an irruption into South Carolina. Iron implements of husbandry were forged by common blacksmiths into rude weapons of war; and pewter dishes, procured from private families and melted down, furnished part of their supply of balls. This little band skirmished with the royal militia, and with small parties of regular troops; sometimes successfully, and always with the active courage of men fighting for the recovery of their property. Sometimes they engaged when they had not more than three rounds of shot each; and, occasionally, some of them were obliged to keep at a distance, till, by the fall of friends or foes, they could be furnished with arms and ammunition. When successful, the field of battle supplied them with materials for the next encounter. This party soon increased to 600 men; and, encouraged by its daring exertions, a disposition manifested itself throughout South Carolina again to appeal to arms. Some companies of royal militia, embodied under the authority of earl Cornwallis, deserted to Sumpter, and ranged themselves under his standards. The British commander beheld this change with surprise: he had thought the battle won, and the southern provinces completely sub-

dued; but, to his astonishment, saw that past victories were unavailing, and that the work yet remained to be accomplished. He was obliged to call in his outposts, and to form his troops into larger bodies.

But earl Cornwallis was soon threatened by a more formidable enemy than Sumpter, who, though an active and audacious leader, commanded only an irregular and feeble band, and was capable of engaging only in desultory enterprises. Congress, sensible of the value and importance of the provinces which the British had overrun, made every effort to reinforce the southern army; and, fully aware of the efficacy of public opinion and of the influence of high reputation, on the 13th of June appointed general Gates to command it. He had acquired a splendid name by his triumphs over Burgoyne; and the populace, whose opinions are formed by appearances and fluctuate with the rumours of the day, anticipated a success equally brilliant.

On receiving notice of his appointment to the command of the southern army, general Gates proceeded southward without delay; and on the 25th of July reached the camp at Buffalo Ford, on Deep River, where he was received by baron de Kalb with respect and cordiality. The army consisted of about 2000 men; and considerable reinforcements of militia from North Carolina and Virginia were expected. In order that he might lead his troops through a more plentiful country, and for the purpose of establishing magazines and hospitals at convenient points, De Kalb had resolved to turn out of the direct road to Camden. But general Gates determined to pursue the straight route towards the British encampment, although it lay through a barren country, which afforded but a scanty subsistence to its inhabitants.

On the 27th of July he put his army in motion, and soon experienced the difficulties and privations which De Kalb had been desirous to avoid. The army was obliged to subsist chiefly on lean cattle, accidentally found in the woods; and the supply even of that mean

food was very limited. Meal and corn were so scarce that the men were compelled to use unripe corn and peaches instead of bread. That insufficient diet, together with the intense heat and unhealthy climate, engendered disease, and threatened the destruction of the army. General Gates at length emerged from the inhospitable region of pine barrens, sand hills, and swamps; and, after having effected a junction with general Caswell, at the head of the militia of North Carolina, and a small body of troops under lieutenant-colonel Porterfield, he arrived at Clermont, or Rugely's Mills, on the 13th of August, and next day was joined by the militia of Virginia, amounting to 700 men, under general Stevens.

On the day after general Gates arrived at Rugely's Mills, he received an express from Sumpter, stating that a number of the militia of South Carolina had joined him on the west side of the Wateree, and that an escort of clothes, ammunition, and other stores, for the garrison of Camden, was on its way from Ninety Six, and must pass the Wateree at a ford covered by a small fort, not far from Camden.

General Gates immediately detached 100 regular infantry and 300 militia of North Carolina to reinforce Sumpter, whom he ordered to reduce the fort and intercept the convoy. Meanwhile he advanced nearer Camden, with the intention of taking a position about seven miles from that place. For that purpose, he put his army in motion at ten in the evening of the 15th of August; having sent his sick, heavy baggage, and military stores not immediately wanted, under a guard to Waxhaws. On the march, colonel Armand's legion composed the van; Porterfield's light infantry, reinforced by a company of picked men from Stevens's brigade, marching in Indian files, 200 yards from the road, covered the right flank of the legion; while major Armstrong's light infantry of North Carolina militia, reinforced in like manner by general Caswell, in the same order, covered the left. The Maryland division, followed by the North Carolina and Virginia militia, with the artillery, com-

posed the main body and rear guard; and the volunteer cavalry were equally distributed on the flanks of the baggage. The American army did not exceed 4000 men, only about 900 of whom were regular troops, and 70 cavalry.

On the advance of general Gates into South Carolina, lord Rawdon had called in his outposts, and concentrated his force at Camden. Informed of the appearance of the American army, and of the general defection of the country between the Pedee and the Black River, lord Cornwallis quitted Charlestown and repaired to Camden, where he arrived on the same day that general Gates reached Clermont.

The British force was reduced by sickness, and earl Cornwallis could not assemble more than 2000 men at Camden. That place, though advantageous in other respects, was not well adapted for resisting an attack; and as the whole country was rising against him, lord Cornwallis felt the necessity of either retreating to Charlestown, or of instantly striking a decisive blow. If he remained at Camden, his difficulties would daily increase, his communication with Charlestown be endangered, and the American army acquire additional strength. A retreat to Charlestown would be the signal for the whole of South Carolina and Georgia to rise in arms: his sick and magazines must be left behind; and the whole of the two provinces, except the towns of Charlestown and Savannah, abandoned. The consequences of such a movement would be nearly as fatal as a defeat. Earl Cornwallis, therefore, although he believed the American army considerably stronger than what it really was, determined to hazard a battle; and, at ten at night, on the 15th of August, the very hour when general Gates proceeded from Rugely's Mills, about thirteen miles distant, he marched towards the American camp.

About two in the morning of the 16th of August, the advanced guards of the hostile armies unexpectedly met in the woods, and the firing instantly began. Some of the cavalry of the American advanced guard being wounded

by the first discharge, the party fell back in confusion, broke the Maryland regiment which was at the head of the column, and threw the whole line of the army into consternation. From that first impression, deepened by the gloom of night, the raw and ill-disciplined militia seem not to have recovered. In the rencounter several prisoners were taken on each side; and from them the opposing generals acquired a more exact knowledge of circumstances than they formerly possessed. Several skirmishes happened during the night, which merely formed a prelude to the approaching battle, and gave the commanders some notion of the position of the hostile armies.

Earl Cornwallis, perceiving that the Americans were on ground of no great extent, with morasses on their right and left, so that they could not avail themselves of their superior numbers to outflank his little army, impatiently waited for the returning light, which would give every advantage to his disciplined troops. Both armies prepared for the conflict. Earl Cornwallis formed his men in two divisions; that on the right was under the command of lieutenant-colonel Webster, that on the left under lord Rawdon. In front were four field-pieces. The 71st regiment, with two cannon, formed the reserve; and the cavalry, about 300 in number, were in the rear, ready to act as circumstances might require.

In the American army, the second Maryland brigade, under general Gist, formed the right of the line; the militia of North Carolina, commanded by general Caswell, occupied the centre; and the militia of Virginia, with the light infantry and colonel Armand's corps, composed the left: the artillery was placed between the divisions. The first Maryland brigade was stationed as a reserve 200 or 300 yards in the rear. Baron de Kalb commanded on the right; the militia generals were at the head of their respective troops; and general Gates resolved to appear wherever his presence might be most useful.

At dawn of day earl Cornwallis ordered lieutenant-

colonel Webster, with the British right wing to attack the American left. As colonel Webster advanced, he was assailed by a desultory discharge of musketry from some volunteer militia who had advanced in front of their countrymen; but the British soldiers, rushing through that loose fire, charged the American line with a shout. The affrighted militia instantly threw down their arms and fled, many of them without even discharging their muskets; and all the efforts of the officers were unable to rally them. A great part of the centre division, composed of the militia of North Carolina, imitated the cowardly example of their comrades of Virginia: few of either divisions fired a shot, and still fewer carried their arms off the field. Tarleton with his legion pursued, and eagerly cut down, the unresisting fugitives. Gates, with some of the militia general officers, made several attempts to rally them, but in vain. The farther they fled the more they dispersed, and Gates, in despair, hastened, with a few friends, to Charlotti, 80 miles from the field of battle.

The baron de Kalb, at the head of the continentals, or American regular troops, being abandoned by the militia, which had constituted the centre and left wing of the army, and being forsaken by the general also, was exposed to the attack of the whole British army. De Kalb and his troops, however, instead of imitating the disgraceful example of their brethren in arms, behaved with a steady intrepidity, and defended themselves like men. Lord Rawdon attacked them about the time when colonel Webster broke the left wing; but the charge was firmly received and steadily resisted, and the conflict was maintained for some time with equal obstinacy on both sides. The American reserve covered the left of De Kalb's division; but its own left flank was entirely exposed by the flight of the militia; and therefore colonel Webster, after detaching some cavalry and light troops in pursuit of the fugitive militia, with the remainder of his division attacked them at once in front and flank. A severe contest ensued.

The Americans, in a great measure intermingled with the British, maintained a desperate conflict. Earl Cornwallis brought his whole force to bear upon them: they were at length broken, and began to retreat in confusion. The brave De Kalb, while making a vigorous charge at the head of a body of his men, fell pierced with eleven wounds. His aide-de-camp, lieutenant-colonel du Buysson, embraced the fallen general, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding enemy, and while thus generously exposing his own life to save his bleeding friend, he received several wounds, and was taken prisoner with him. De Kalb met with all possible attention and assistance from the victorious enemy, but that gallant officer expired in a few hours. Congress afterwards ordered a monument to be erected to his memory.

Never was victory more complete, or defeat more total. Every regiment was broken and dispersed through the woods, marshes, and brushwood, which at once saved them from their pursuers and separated them more entirely from each other. The officers lost sight of their men, and every individual endeavoured to save himself in the best way he was able. The British cavalry pursued: and for many miles the roads were strewed with the wrecks of a ruined army. Waggons or fragments of waggons, arms, dead or maimed horses, dead or wounded soldiers, where every where seen. General Rutherford of the North Carolina militia was made prisoner; but the other general officers reached Charlotte at different times and by different routes.

About 200 waggons, a great part of the baggage, military stores, small arms, and all the artillery, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This decisive victory cost the British only 80 men killed and 245 wounded. 800 or 900 of the Americans were killed or wounded, and about 1000 taken prisoners. The militia endeavoured to save themselves by flight: the continentals alone fought, and almost half their number fell.

An apprenticeship to arms is as necessary as to the

mechanical arts. Great is the power of sympathy over the human mind; and fear, like other passions, is infectious. Large bodies of men, as well as individuals, are liable to panics; and military discipline and practice are the best security against this contagion, by giving the soldier confidence in himself, and training him to act with promptitude, decision, and firmness in the face of danger. At Camden, the militia ran like a flock of sheep before wolves; but the continentals fought like brave men. At Saratoga, indeed, the militia behaved well, because their minds were in a state of high excitation; but, in general, their behaviour was timid and irresolute, while in the course of the war the continentals acquired all the cool intrepidity of veteran troops. In order to palliate the cowardice of the militia at Camden, much stress has been laid on the insufficient diet to which they had been reduced on the march; but they had fared as well as the continentals.

While the army under general Gates was completely defeated and dispersed, colonel Sumpter was successful in his enterprise. On the evening in which lord Cornwallis marched from Camden, he reduced the redoubt on the Wateree, took the stores on their way to Camden, and made about 100 prisoners. On hearing, however, of the disastrous fate of the army under general Gates, Sumpter, fully aware of his danger, retreated hastily with his stores and prisoners up the south side of the Wateree. On the morning of the seventeenth, lord Cornwallis sent Tarleton, with the legion and a detachment of infantry, in pursuit of him. That officer proceeded with his usual rapidity; and, finding many of his infantry unable to keep pace with him, he advanced with about 100 cavalry and 60 of the most vigorous of the infantry; and, on the 18th, suddenly and unexpectedly came upon the Americans.

Sumpter, having marched with great diligence, thought himself beyond the reach of danger; and his men being exhausted by unremitting service and want of sleep, he halted near the Catawba ford, to give them

some repose during the heat of the day. In order to prevent a surprise, he had placed sentinels at proper stations to give warning of approaching danger; but, overcome by fatigue and equally regardless of duty and safety, the sentinels fell asleep at their post, and gave no alarm. Tarleton suddenly burst into the encampment of the drowsy and unsuspecting Americans; and, though some slight resistance was at first made from behind the baggage, soon gained a complete victory. The Americans fled precipitately towards the river or the woods. Between 300 and 400 of them were killed or wounded. Sumpter escaped without the coat; but all his baggage fell into the hands of the enemy, while the prisoners and stores which he had taken were recovered.

By the complete defeat and dispersion of the army under general Gates and of Sumpter's corps, South Carolina and Georgia were again laid prostrate at the feet of the royal army, and the hope of maintaining their independence seemed more desperate than ever.

CHAP. IV.

DIFFICULTIES OF GENERAL WASHINGTON. — INTENSE FROST. — AMERICANS REPULSED AT STATEN ISLAND. — EMBARRASSMENTS OF CONGRESS. — WANTS OF THE ARMY. — KNYPHAUSEN INVADES JERSEY. — DESTRUCTION OF CONNECTICUT FARMS. — SIR HENRY CLINTON RETURNS TO NEW YORK. — SKIRMISH AT SPRINGFIELD. — ATTACK ON BERGEN POINT. — FRENCH FLEET WITH TROOPS ARRIVES IN AMERICA. — SIR HENRY CLINTON PROCEEDS AGAINST RHODE ISLAND. — RECALLED BY THE ADVANCE OF GENERAL WASHINGTON AGAINST NEW YORK. — TREASON OF ARNOLD. — TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MAJOR ANDRÉ. — DESULTORY WARFARE. — CARTEL.

WHILE the transactions related in the preceding chapter were going on in the southern states, some interesting

events happened in the more northern parts of the Union, where general Washington was beset by pressing and formidable difficulties. The finances of congress were in a most depressed condition, and the urgent wants of the army were but ill supplied. The evils of short enlistment, though distinctly understood and strongly felt, could not be remedied; and the places of those men who were leaving the army, on the expiration of their stipulated term of service, could not easily be filled up. Besides, the troops were in danger of perishing by cold and famine. During the preceding year, general Greene and colonel Wadsworth had been at the head of the quarter-master and commissary departments; and, notwithstanding their utmost exertions, the wants of the army had been ill supplied. After being put into winter quarters, it was in great danger of being dissolved by want of provisions, or of perishing through famine. The colonial paper money was in a state of great and increasing depreciation; and, in order to check the alarming evil, congress, which, like other popular assemblies, had in it no small share of ignorance and self-sufficiency, resolved to diminish the circulation and keep up the value of their paper currency by withholding the necessary supplies from the public agents. This foolish resolution threatened the ruin of the army. Nobody was willing to make contracts with the public, and some of those entered into were not fulfilled.

Congress, jealous of the public agents, because ignorant of what was really necessary, repeatedly changed the form of its engagements with them; and at length, by its fluctuating policy, real wants, and imprudent parsimony, brought matters to such extremities, that general Washington was compelled to require the several counties of the state of Jersey to furnish his army with certain quantities of provisions within six days, in order to prevent them from being taken by force. Although the province was much exhausted, yet the people instantly complied with the requisition, and furnished a temporary supply to the army.

Soon after sir Henry Clinton sailed on his expedition against Charlestown, towards the end of the year 1779, a frost of unexampled intensity began. The Hudson, East River, and all the waters round New York, were so completely frozen, that an army, with its artillery and waggons, might have crossed them in all directions with perfect safety. New York lost all the advantages of its insular situation, and became easily accessible on every side. This city was fortified by the British; but, on account of its insular situation, several parts, being considered of difficult access, were left undefended. By the strength of the ice, however, every point became exposed; and, in that unforeseen emergency, general Knyphausen, who commanded in the city with a garrison of 10,000 men, took every prudent precaution for his own defence, and fortified every vulnerable part; but the inefficiency of the American army was his best security. General Washington easily perceived the advantages which the extraordinary frost gave him; but, from the destitute state of his army, he was unable to avail himself of them, and was obliged to see an opportunity pass away which was probably never to return. The army under his immediate command was inferior in number to the garrison of New York; it was also ill clad, scantily supplied with provisions, and in no condition to undertake offensive operations.

The British had a post in Staten Island; and, as the ice opened a free communication between the island and the Jersey coast, general Washington, notwithstanding the enfeebled condition of his army, resolved to attack the garrison, and appointed lord Stirling to conduct the enterprise. The night of the 14th of January was chosen for the attempt; but though the Americans used every precaution, yet the officer commanding on Staten Island discovered their intention, and took effectual measures to defeat it. The attack was repulsed, but little loss was sustained on either side.

The extreme cold occasioned much suffering in New York, by want of provisions and fuel; for as the commu-

nication by water was entirely stopped, the usual supplies were cut off. The demand for fuel in particular was so pressing, that it was found expedient to break up some old transports, and to pull down some uninhabited wooden houses, for the purpose of procuring that necessary article. As the British paid in ready money for provisions or firewood carried within the lines, many of the country people, tempted by the precious metals, so rare among them, tried to supply the garrison. The endeavours of the British to encourage and protect this intercourse, and the exertions of the Americans to prevent it, brought on a sort of partisan warfare, in which the former most frequently had the advantage. In one of the most important of those rencounters, a captain and fourteen men of a Massachusetts regiment were killed on the spot, seventeen were wounded, and ninety, with colonel Thompson, the officer who commanded the party, were made prisoners.

Congress found itself placed in very difficult circumstances. It always contained a number of men of talents, and manifested no small share of vigour and activity. Many of the members were skilful in the management of their private affairs; and, having been successful in the world, thought themselves competent to direct the most important national concerns, although unacquainted with the principles of finance, legislation, or war. Animated by that blind presumption which generally characterises popular assemblies, they often entered into resolutions which discovered little practical wisdom. In pecuniary matters they were dilatory, and never anticipated trying emergencies, or made provision for probable events, till they were overtaken by some urgent necessity. Hence they were frequently deliberating about levying troops and supplying the army when the troops ought to have been in the field, and the army fully equipped for active service. This often placed the commander-in-chief in the most trying and perilous circumstances.

Congress had solemnly resolved not to exceed 200,000,000 of dollars in continental bills of credit.

In November, 1779, the whole of that sum was issued, and expended also. The demand on the states to replenish the treasury by taxes had not been fully complied with; and, even although it had been completely answered, would not have furnished a sum adequate to the expenses of government. Instead of maturely considering and digesting a plan, adhering to it, and improving it by experience, congress often changed its measures; and, even in the midst of those distresses which had brought the army to the verge of dissolution, was busy in devising new and untried expedients for supporting it. As the treasury was empty, and money could not be raised, congress, on the 25th of February, resolved to call on the several states for their proportion of provisions, spirits, and forage, for the maintenance of the army during the ensuing campaign, but specified no time within which these were to be collected; and, consequently, the states were in no haste in the matter. In order to encourage and facilitate compliance with this requisition, it was further resolved, that any state which should have taken the necessary measures for furnishing its quota, and given notice thereof to congress, should be authorised to prohibit any continental quartermaster or commissary from purchasing within its limits.

Every man who had a practical knowledge of the subject easily perceived the defective nature and dangerous tendency of this arrangement. It was an attempt to carry on the war rather by separate provincial efforts than by a combination of national strength; and if the army received from any state where it was acting the appointed quantity of necessaries, it had no right, though starving, to purchase what it stood in need of. Besides, the carriage of provisions from distant parts was troublesome, expensive, and sometimes impracticable.

The troops were ill clothed, their pay was in arrear, and that of the officers, owing to the great depreciation of the paper currency, was wholly unequal to their decent maintenance. These multiplied privations and sufferings soured the temper of the men; and it required

all the influence of their revered commander to prevent many of the officers from resigning their commissions The long continuance of want and hardship produced relaxation of discipline, which at length manifested itself in open mutiny. On the 25th of May, two regiments belonging to Connecticut paraded under arms, with the avowed intention of returning home, or of obtaining subsistence at the point of the bayonet. The rest of the soldiers, though they did not join in the mutiny, showed little disposition to suppress it. At length the two regiments were brought back to their duty; but much murmuring and many complaints were heard. While the army was in such want, the inhabitants of Jersey, where most of the troops were stationed, were unavoidably harassed by frequent requisitions, which excited considerable discontent.

Reports of the mutinous state of the American army, and of the dissatisfaction of the people of Jersey, probably much exaggerated, were carried to general Knyphausen; who, believing the American soldiers ready to desert their standards, and the inhabitants of Jersey willing to abandon the union, on the 6th of June, passed from Staten Island to Elizabeth Town in Jersey, with 5000 men. That movement was intended to encourage the mutinous disposition of the American troops, and to fan the flame of discontent among the inhabitants of the province. Early next morning, he marched into the country towards Springfield by the way of Connecticut Farms, a flourishing plantation, so named because the cultivators had come from Connecticut. But even before reaching that place, which was only five or six miles from Elizabeth Town, the British perceived that the reports which they had received concerning the discontent of the Americans were incorrect; for on the first alarm, the militia assembled with great alacrity, and, aided by some small parties of regular troops, annoyed the British by an irregular but galling fire of musketry, wherever the nature of the ground presented a favourable opportunity: and although those parties

were no where strong enough to make a stand, yet they gave plain indications of the temper and resolution which were to be encountered in advancing into the country.

At Connecticut Farms the British detachment halted. The settlers were known to be zealous in the American cause, and therefore, with a little spirit of revenge, the British, among whom was general Tryon, laid the flourishing village with its church and the minister's house in ashes. Here occurred one of those affecting incidents which, being somewhat out of the ordinary course of the miseries of war, make a deep impression on the public mind. Mr. Caldwell, minister of the place, had withdrawn towards Springfield, but had left his wife and family behind, believing them to be in no danger. The British advanced to the industrious and peaceful village. Mrs. Caldwell, trusting to her sex for safety, and unsuspicious of harm, was sitting in her house with her children around her, when a soldier came up, levelled his musket at the window, and shot her dead on the spot in the midst of her terrified infants. On the intercession of a friend, the dead body was permitted to be removed, before the house was set on fire.

This atrocious deed excited such general horror and detestation that the British thought proper to disavow it, and to impute the death of Mrs. Caldwell to a random shot from the retreating militia, though the militia did not fire a musket in the village. The wanton murder of the lady might be the unauthorised act of a savage individual; but can the burning of the house after her death be accounted for in the same way? Knyphausen was a veteran officer, and cannot be supposed capable of entering into local animosities, or of countenancing such brutality; but Tryon was present, and his conduct on other occasions was not unblemished.

After destroying the Connecticut Farms, Knyphausen advanced towards Springfield, where the Jersey brigade under general Maxwell, and a large body of militia, had taken an advantageous position, and seemed resolved to

defend it. General Knyphausen, however, had met with a reception so different from what he expected, that, without making any attempt on the American post, he withdrew during the night to Elizabeth Town.

On being informed of the invasion of New Jersey, general Washington put his army in motion, early on the morning of the day in which Knyphausen marched from Elizabeth Town, and proceeded to the Short Hills behind Springfield, while the British were in the vicinity of that place. Feeble as his army was, he made the necessary dispositions for fighting; but the unexpected retreat of Knyphausen rendered a battle unnecessary. The British were followed by an American detachment, which attacked their rear-guard next morning, but was repulsed. Instead of returning to New York, general Knyphausen lingered in the vicinity of Elizabeth Town and in Staten Island; and general Washington, too weak to hazard an engagement, except on advantageous ground, remained on the hills near Springfield, to watch the movements of the British army. At that time, the army under the immediate orders of general Washington did not exceed 4000 effective men.

On the 18th of June sir Henry Clinton returned from South Carolina, with about 4000 men; and, after receiving this reinforcement, the British force in New York and its dependencies amounted to 12,000 effective and regular troops, most of whom could be brought into the field for any particular service; as besides them the British commander had about 4000 militia and refugees for garrison duty. The British army directed on any one point would have been irresistible; therefore the Americans could only follow a wary policy, occupying strong ground, presenting a bold front, and concealing their weakness as far as possible.

Sir Henry Clinton embarked troops, and awakened the fears of general Washington lest he should sail up the Hudson and attack the posts in the highlands. Those posts had always been objects of much solicitude to the American commander, and he was extremely jealous of

any attack upon them. In order to be in readiness to resist any such attack, he left general Greene at Springfield, with 700 continentals, the Jersey militia, and some cavalry, and proceeded towards Pompton with the main body of the army.

Sir Henry Clinton, after having perplexed the Americans by his movements, early on the morning of the 23d of June, rapidly advanced in full force from Elizabeth Town towards Springfield. General Greene hastily assembled his scattered detachments, and apprised general Washington of the march of the royal army, who instantly returned to support Greene's division. The British marched in two columns; one on the main road leading to Springfield, and the other on the Vauxhall road. General Greene scarcely had time to collect his troops at Springfield, and make the necessary dispositions, when the royal army appeared before the town, and a cannonade immediately began. A fordable rivulet, with bridges corresponding to the different roads, runs in front of the place. Greene had stationed parties to guard the bridges, and they obstinately disputed the passage; but after a smart conflict they were overpowered, and compelled to retreat. Greene then fell back, and took post on a range of hills, where he expected to be again attacked. But the British, instead of attempting to pursue their advantage, contented themselves with setting fire to the village, and laying the greater part of it in ashes. Discouraged by the obstinate resistance they had received, and ignorant of the weakness of the detachment which opposed them, they immediately retreated to Elizabeth Town, pursued with the utmost animosity by the militia, who were provoked at the burning of Springfield. They arrived at Elizabeth Town about sunset; and, continuing their march to Elizabeth Point, began at midnight to pass over to Staten Island. Before six next morning they had entirely evacuated the Jerseys, and removed the bridge of boats which communicated with Staten Island.

In the skirmish at Springfield the Americans had

about twenty men killed, and sixty wounded. The British suffered a corresponding loss. Sir Henry Clinton's object in this expedition seems to have been to destroy the American magazines in that part of the country. But the obstinate resistance which he met with at Springfield deterred him from advancing into a district abounding in difficult passes, where every strong position would be vigorously defended. He seems also to have been checked by the apprehension of a fleet and army from France.

General Washington was informed of sir Henry Clinton's march soon after the British left Elizabeth Town; but, though he hastily returned, the skirmish at Springfield was over before he reached the vicinity of that place.

After sir Henry Clinton left the Jerseys, general Washington planned an enterprise against a British post at Bergen Point on the Hudson opposite New York, garrisoned by seventy loyalists. It was intended to reduce the post, and also to carry off a number of cattle on Bergen Neck, from which the garrison of New York occasionally received supplies of fresh provisions. General Wayne was appointed to conduct the enterprise. With a respectable force he marched against the post, which consisted of a block-house covered by an abatis and palisade. General Wayne pointed his artillery against the block-house, but his field-pieces made no impression on the logs. Galled by the fire from the loop-holes, some of his men rushed impetuously through the abatis and attempted to storm the block-house, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. Though, however, the Americans failed in their attempt against the post, they succeeded in driving off most of the cattle.

On the commencement of hostilities in Europe, the marquis de la Fayette, who had so early and so zealously embarked in the cause of America, returned home in order to offer his services to his king, still, however, retaining his rank in the army of congress. His ardour

in behalf of the Americans remained unabated, and he exerted all his influence with the court of Versailles to gain its effectual support to the United States: his efforts were successful, and the king of France resolved vigorously to assist the Americans both by sea and land. Having gained this important point, and perceiving that there was no need for his military services in Europe, he obtained leave from his sovereign to return to America and join his former companions in arms. He landed at Boston towards the end of April; and, in his way to congress, called at the head-quarters of general Washington, and informed him of the powerful succour which might soon be expected from France. He met with a most cordial reception both from congress and the commander-in-chief, on account of his high rank, tried friendship, and distinguished services.

The assistance expected from their powerful ally was very encouraging to the Americans, but called for corresponding exertions on their part. The commander-in-chief found himself in the most perplexing circumstances: his army was feeble, and he could form no plan for the campaign till he knew what forces were to be put under his orders. His troops, both officers and privates, were ill clothed, and needed to be decently apparelled before they could be led into the field to co-operate with soldiers in respectable uniforms; for his half-naked battalions would only have been objects of contempt and derision to their better dressed allies. In order to supply these defects, and to get his army in a state of due preparation before the arrival of the European auxiliaries, general Washington made the most pressing applications to congress, and to the several state legislatures. Congress resolved and recommended; but the states were dilatory, and their tardy proceedings ill accorded with the exigencies of the case, or with the expectations of those who best understood the affairs of the Union. Even on the 4th of July, the commander-in-chief had the mortification to find that few new levies had arrived in camp, and some of the states had

not even taken the trouble to inform him of the number of men they intended to furnish.

In the month of June the state of Massachusetts had resolved to send a reinforcement, but no part of it had yet arrived. About the same time a voluntary subscription was entered into in Philadelphia, for the purpose of providing bounties to recruits to fill up the Pennsylvanian line; and the president or vice-president in council was empowered, if circumstances required it, to put the state under martial law. A bank also was established for the purpose of supplying the army with provisions; and a number of gentlemen engaged to support it to the amount of 189,000*l.* sterling, according to the sums affixed to their several names. The ladies of Philadelphia were ambitious of sharing the honours of patriotism with their fathers, husbands, and brothers; and a number of them visited every house in the city, in order to collect a sum of money to be presented to the army, in testimony of their esteem and approbation. The money was expended on cloth for shirts, which the ladies made.

In the midst of this imbecility, bustle, and preparation, the expected succours from France, consisting of a fleet of eight ships of the line, with frigates and other vessels under the chevalier de Ternay, having about 6000 troops on board under general the count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island on the evening of the 10th of July; and, in a few days afterwards, the marquis de la Fayette arrived at Newport from the American head-quarters, to confer with his countrymen.

At the time of the arrival of the French in Rhode Island, admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New York; but, in a few days, admiral Graves arrived from England with six sail of the line, which gave the British a decided superiority to the hostile squadron; and, therefore, sir Henry Clinton without delay prepared for active operations. He embarked about 8000 men, and sailed with the fleet to Hunting-

ton Bay in Long Island, with the intention of proceeding against the French at Newport. The militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut were ordered to join their new allies in Rhode Island, and the combined army there thought itself able to give the British a good reception.

As the garrison of New York was weakened by the sailing of the armament under the British commander-in-chief, general Washington, having received considerable reinforcements, suddenly crossed the North River, and advanced towards New York; that movement brought sir Henry Clinton back to defend the place; and, consequently, the American commander proceeded no farther in his meditated enterprise.

The want of money and of all necessaries still continued in the American camp; and the discontent of the troops, gradually increasing, was matured into a dangerous spirit of insubordination. The men, indeed, bore incredible hardships and privations with unexampled fortitude and patience; but the army was in a state of constant fluctuation: it was composed, in a great measure, of militia harassed by perpetual service, and obliged to neglect the cultivation of their farms and their private interests, in order to obey the calls of public duty, and of soldiers on short enlistments, who never acquired the military spirit and habits.

In consequence of an appointment, general Washington and suite set out to a conference with count Rochambeau and admiral Ternay, and, on the 21st of September, met them at Hartford in Connecticut, where they spent a few days together, and conversed about a plan for the next campaign.

The season was now far advanced: no action of importance had been achieved on the Hudson by either party, and the campaign in that quarter seemed about to close without any thing remarkable, when both armies were suddenly roused, and the public mind both in Europe and America much agitated, by one of those affecting events which deepen the gloom and give a

melancholy and tender interest even to the calamities of war, — the execution of major André.

In the early part of the month of August, when general Washington meditated an attack on New York, he proposed that general Arnold should have a command in the enterprise. That Arnold declined; alleging that his lameness disqualified him for field duty. General Washington knew him to be a selfish man; but, having no suspicion of his infidelity to the American cause, for which he had professed so much zeal and made so many exertions, appointed him, at his own desire, to the command of West Point and its dependencies, a most important post on the Hudson. Of the highland posts on that river general Washington was extremely jealous, and exerted himself to prevent the British from establishing a communication between Canada and New York by the lakes Champlain and George, and the river Hudson. West Point was considered a principal key of that communication; and, by the appointment to the command of it, Arnold was put into a place of high trust and confidence.

But that officer, impetuous and desperate rather than cool and intrepid, and governed more by the violence of his passions than the dictates of his understanding, had secretly determined to abandon and betray the American cause; and entered into negotiations with the British commander-in-chief for that purpose. The surrender of West Point, he was well aware, would gratify his new friends; and he wished to inflict a deadly wound on his old associates, whom he hated the more because he intended to betray them. Ambitious and selfish, fond of ostentation and magnificence, his expenditure had exceeded his income; and, in order to supply his extravagance, he had engaged in trade and privateering. His speculations proved unsuccessful; his funds were exhausted; and his creditors became clamorous. About the month of July, 1779, he presented heavy accounts against the public, but the commissioners rejected about one half of his demands: he appealed to

congress; but a committee of that body reported that the commissioners had allowed him more than he had any right to demand or expect. Irritated and inflamed by this treatment, embarrassed in his circumstances, and encumbered with an expensive family, he resolved to raise a fortune on the ruins of his character, and to commit the foulest treason in order to gratify at once his ambition and revenge.

In the course of the year 1779, major André, adjutant-general of the British army, a young officer of distinguished talents and acquirements, had entered into a correspondence with Mrs. Arnold, on pretence of supplying her with millinery goods: that correspondence ripened into treason on the part of Arnold. After his nomination to the command of West Point, the Vulture sloop of war was stationed by sir Henry Clinton in the North River, at such a distance from the American works as to excite no suspicion, but near enough to facilitate the correspondence which was carrying on. Before that time there had been a written correspondence, through other channels, between Arnold and André, under the assumed names of Gustavus and Anderson. In order to bring the negotiation to a speedy close, Arnold wished sir Henry Clinton to send a confidential person to hold a conference with him; unhappily the amiable and accomplished André was selected for the consummation of a work in which he was already too much implicated.

On the night of the 21st of September, a boat sent by Arnold carried André from the Vulture, and landed him on the bank of the river, where he met Arnold without the American posts. The day was about to dawn before the negotiation was finished; and André was told that it was necessary he should remain concealed till next night: for that purpose he was conducted within the American lines, contrary to his previous stipulation and intention, and without his knowledge. He spent the day with Arnold. Next night the boatmen refused to carry him back to the Vulture, because she

had shifted her ground in order to be beyond the reach of a cannon which had been mounted to annoy her; and he was obliged to attempt an escape by land. He now changed his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under a surtout, for a common coat; and having procured a horse, was, under the name of John Anderson, furnished with a passport by Arnold to go to the lines at White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, as he was on public business.

Thus equipped, André set out alone, and proceeded on his journey towards New York. He passed the American guards and posts on the road without suspicion; but Arnold had a scouting party, chiefly militia, scouring the country between the outposts of the two armies. As André prosecuted his journey next day, and flattered himself that all danger was past, a man suddenly sprang from a covert and seized his horse's bridle. Surprised by the unexpected onset, the major lost his presence of mind: mistaking the man for a British partisan, instead of presenting his passport, he declared himself a British officer, and asked permission to proceed; but two other militia-men coming up at the moment, the party refused to let him go, though he offered them the most tempting rewards. They conducted him to colonel Jamieson, the officer commanding the scouting party, before whom he appeared as John Anderson; choosing rather to encounter every hazard, than, by a disclosure of his real character, to involve Arnold in jeopardy before he had warning to provide for his safety.

André had been disconcerted, and his presence of mind had forsaken him on his sudden and unexpected seizure; but, more alive to Arnold's danger than his own, he discovered his ingenuity in procuring Jamieson's permission to give that officer notice of his apprehension. Even before that time Jamieson had entertained suspicions of Arnold's fidelity; and although those suspicions must now have been strengthened or confirmed, yet he permitted a note to be sent to Arnold, giving him notice of John Anderson's detention.

Several papers were found in one of major André's boots, all in Arnold's handwriting, which contained an exact account of the state of West Point and its dependencies, with remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men ordinarily on duty in the place, and a copy of the state of matters which had been laid before a council of war by the American commander-in-chief on the 6th of the month. All those papers Jamieson enclosed under cover to general Washington, with a letter from the prisoner, in which he avowed himself to be major John André, adjutant-general of the British army, related the manner of his apprehension, and endeavoured to vindicate himself from the imputation of being a spy.

General Washington was then returning from his conference with the French commanders at Hartford; and Jamieson's messenger missed him by taking a different road from that in which the general was travelling. Arnold received the notice of Anderson's detention some hours before general Washington arrived at West Point; and immediately consulted his safety, by hastening on board the Vulture sloop of war, which lay in the river some miles below Verplank's Point.

On opening the packet from Jamieson at West Point, general Washington discovered Arnold's treason, and took prompt and effectual measures for the security of the post, ordering to it two brigades from the nearest division of the main army.

After allowing time for the notice of his detention to reach Arnold, major André laid aside all disguise, and avowed who he was. His behaviour was frank and ingenuous; and he seemed anxious for nothing but the vindication of his character from the imputations which the circumstances of his apprehension appeared to cast upon him. General Washington appointed a board of officers, of which Greene was president, and La Fayette, Steuben, and others, were members, to enquire into the case of major André, and to report in what character he was to be considered, and what punishment he deserved.

Even during the short time that André was in the power of the Americans, and notwithstanding the unhappy circumstances in which he was placed, his behaviour and talents made a highly favourable impression on their minds; and when brought before the board, the members behaved towards him with the utmost respect and delicacy, and told him not to answer any questions that might embarrass his feelings. But in that crisis of his fate, André magnanimously disregarded every thing but his honour. He gave a candid recital of circumstances, concealing nothing that regarded himself; but making no disclosures to inculpate others. He acknowledged every thing that was reckoned essential to his condemnation; and the board of general officers to whom his case was referred, without calling any witnesses, considered merely that he had been within their lines in disguise, and reported that in their opinion major André was a spy, and ought to suffer death. The sentence was ordered to be carried into execution on the day after it was declared.

The apprehension of major André excited a lively sensation in the British army, which felt a strong interest in his fate; for he was dear to all his companions in arms, and especially to the commander-in-chief, who immediately, by a flag of truce, opened a correspondence with general Washington, and urged every consideration of justice, policy, and humanity in favour of André. Finding his letters ineffectual, he despatched general Robertson to confer with general Washington on the subject, or with any officer whom he might appoint. He was met by general Greene; but no mitigation of the doom could be procured. On the day before his execution, major André wrote an affecting letter to general Washington, requesting to be put to death like a soldier, and not as a malefactor; but the board of general officers, to whom every thing respecting him was referred, did not grant his request. The 2d of October closed the tragical scene: on that day the major was led out and hanged, supporting his high

character to the last moment. He suffered amidst the admiration and regrets even of the American officers; while his death was deeply lamented in the British army. He was a young man of an amiable character, engaging manners, and fine talents and acquirements. By a striking combination of circumstances, he was led to an end of which he was wholly unworthy. Sir Henry Clinton made every effort to save him; but the Americans were inexorable. Fear is irritable and cruel; and the alarming danger with which they had been threatened rendered them deaf to the voice of mercy. But generosity in sparing would have conferred brighter and more permanent honours, without less security, than the stern rigour of military law in putting him to death. Such acts of severity embitter the animosity of nations, and aggravate the calamities of war.

Even Arnold had the effrontery to write to general Washington on the occasion, attesting such facts as he believed favourable to André. But what reliance could be placed on the testimony of a man capable of such foul treason? He also threatened the general, and reminded him that many of the inhabitants of South Carolina had rendered themselves liable to military execution. It was impudent in Arnold to write, and imprudent in Sir Henry Clinton to transmit his letter; for it was the sure way to provoke André's fate, even although there had been an inclination to spare him.

Arnold endeavoured to vindicate his conduct, by pleading hostility to the alliance with France; and he attempted to induce others to imitate his example. He had a right, no doubt, to abandon the American standard; but no plea can justify his attempt to employ the power committed to him for the ruin of those who had trusted him; some of whom, perhaps, had been encouraged by his example and incitement to take up arms against the British authority. The name of Arnold must go down to posterity loaded with all the infamy of a traitor: and it were for the honour of human nature, and the common advantage of nations, if all govern-

ments would unite in manifesting their detestation of such villanies.

After the melancholy event now related, no military transactions of much importance were carried on in the north during the remainder of the campaign. On the 21st of November, indeed, major Talmadge performed a brilliant exploit of desultory warfare. Being informed that the British had a large magazine of forage at Coram, on Long Island, protected by a small garrison at Fort St. George on South Haven in its vicinity, he crossed the sound where it was upwards of 20 miles broad; and, with nearly 100 men, surprised the fort; made the garrison, upwards of 50 in number, prisoners; burnt the magazines at Coram; and, escaping the British cruisers, recrossed the sound without losing a man. On the other hand, major Carleton, at the head of a thousand men, Europeans, Indians, and loyalists, made a sudden irruption into the northern parts of the state of New York, took the forts Anne and George, and made the garrisons prisoners. At the same time, sir John Johnston, at the head of a body of a similar description, appeared on the Mohawk. Several smart skirmishes were fought. But both of those parties were obliged to retire, laying waste the country through which they passed.

On the approach of winter both armies went into winter quarters. General Washington stationed the Pennsylvania line near Morristown; the Jersey line, about Pompton, on the confines of New York and New Jersey; the troops of New England, in West Point and its vicinity, on both sides of the North River; and the troops of New York remained at Albany, whither they had been sent to oppose the invasion of Carleton and Johnston.

Towards the close of the year, an agreement for an exchange of prisoners was entered into between general Philips and general Lincoln. The former had been an American prisoner since the convention of Saratoga, and the latter in the power of the British since the surrender

of Charlestown. Hitherto congress had shown no forwardness to enter into arrangements for a general exchange of prisoners. That body was aware of the great expense of recruiting the British army from Europe; and of the slender accession of strength which, owing to short enlistments, their own military force would derive from a release of prisoners. They considered a general exchange unfavourable to their cause; but many of their regular troops had fallen into the hands of the British, by the capitulation of Charlestown, and the defeat of Gates at Camden. The complaints of the prisoners and of their friends were loud; and for that reason congress found it expedient to agree to a general exchange: but the convention troops of Saratoga were detained prisoners till the end of the war.

CHAP. V.

ARMED NEUTRALITY. — ROMAN CATHOLICS. — RIOTS IN DIFFERENT PLACES. — PROCEEDINGS OF EARL CORNWALLIS AFTER THE BATTLE OF CAMDEN. — FALL OF MAJOR FERGUSON. — EARL CORNWALLIS RETREATS TO WYNNESBOROUGH.

THE war which had broken out in the vicinity of Boston between Great Britain and her American colonies, in its progress had not only convulsed the thirteen provinces, but had agitated Europe, and spread its ravages to the peninsula of India and the distant banks of the Ganges. France, as already mentioned, had openly espoused the cause of the colonies, early in 1778; Spain had joined her arms to those of France in 1779; and the United Provinces of Holland were ultimately involved in the war against Great Britain.

The British nation exercised the power of searching neutral vessels, in order to discover whether they carried articles that were reckoned contraband of war. To the neutral nations, that was vexatious and irritating. With-

out giving themselves any concern about the causes or issue of the war, those nations were desirous of embracing the opportunity which it afforded them of carrying on a profitable commerce with the contending powers, and were provoked when they found themselves interrupted by the pretensions and naval force of Great Britain. They resolved to free themselves from that restraint; and accordingly, with the empress of Russia at their head, they formed a confederacy, named the *armed neutrality*, in order to assert the rights and protect the commerce of neutral nations. The great principle of the confederacy was, that *free bottoms make free goods*. They declared that neutral ships shall enjoy a free navigation even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers; that all effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent powers shall be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, except only such goods as are stipulated contraband; and that no port shall be considered under blockade, unless there shall be before it a sufficient number of the ships of the blockading power to render the entrance into it dangerous.

While Great Britain was exerting her gigantic strength in struggling with her revolted colonies, in combating the formidable confederacy of independent nations arrayed against her, and while the neutral kingdoms assumed a menacing attitude, her rulers were perplexed by the claims of one part of the people, and by the intemperate zeal of the other.

The Roman catholics, the remnants of the ancient faith, were subject to various disqualifications, from which they prayed to be relieved. It must be irksome to a government to have any considerable number of its subjects acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of a foreign pontiff; unfriendly to the country, from considering the great body of the people rebels against his ghostly domination. But the British government, strong by the affectionate support of loyal subjects, was inclined, at the time under consideration, to relax the rigour of

old enactments, and to behave in a kind and conciliatory manner towards the adherents of the Romish faith. Many of the populace, however, and some fiery zealots who undertook to direct them, did not participate in the liberal sentiments and feelings of their superiors.

The welfare of the community is the great end of all government: but a government obeying the capricious and fluctuating volitions of the multitude could neither be entitled to respect, nor possess permanent stability. It is melancholy when all the weight of authority is employed to retard every step in the progress of social improvement; and it is equally melancholy when the presumptuous ignorance and headlong violence of the people impede the measures of a liberal and enlightened policy. This last was the case at the period before us. Government was willing to gratify the Roman catholics, but was madly opposed by deluded multitudes calling themselves *protestants*. In London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, the most disgraceful and alarming riots ensued; and the nation, which all the power of its combined enemies was unable to crush, seemed destined to perish by the frenzy of its own infatuated people. The outrageous zealots fancied that they were upholding the constitution, by violating the laws; honouring God, by insulting and injuring his inoffensive children; and maintaining religion, by trampling its precepts under foot. To form a sound judgment on the subject concerning which the uninstructed multitude took upon themselves hastily to decide, requires an extent and minuteness of knowledge which few persons possess; and as the ministers of the crown have means of information which private individuals do not enjoy, it is best quietly to leave the determination of such points to the discretion and patriotism of the national councils, without any popular interference.

From that alarming crisis Great Britain escaped; and the sinking credit of the administration was in some measure restored. Having glanced at Europe, we now return to America.

In the southern states, the force of the contending armies was feeble: but great interests were at stake; the most vigorous exertions were made on both sides; and a keen warfare was carried on.

After the battle of Camden, earl Cornwallis was unable to follow up the victory with his usual activity. His little army was diminished by the sword and by disease. He had not brought with him from Charlestown the stores necessary for an immediate pursuit of the fleeing enemy; and he did not deem it expedient to leave South Carolina till he had suppressed that spirit of resistance to his authority which had extensively manifested itself in the province. In order to consummate, as he thought, the subjugation of the state, he resorted to measures of great severity. He considered the province as a conquered country, reduced to unconditional submission, and to allegiance to its ancient sovereign, and the people liable to the duties of British subjects, and to corresponding penalties in case of a breach of those duties. He forgot, or seemed to forget, that many of them had been received as prisoners of war on parole; that, without their consent, their parole had been discharged; and that, merely by a proclamation, they had been declared British subjects, instead of prisoners of war.

In a few days after the battle of Camden, when his lordship thought the country was lying prostrate at his feet, he addressed the following letter to the commandant of the British garrison at Ninety Six:—"I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this province who have subscribed, and taken part in the revolt, should be punished with the utmost rigour; and also those who will not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have also ordered that compensation should be made out of these estates to the persons who have been injured or oppressed by them. I have ordered, in the most positive manner, that every militiaman who has borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most vigorous measures to

punish the rebels in the district you command, and that you obey, in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter relative to the inhabitants of the country." Similar orders were given to the commanders of other posts.

In any circumstances, such orders given to officers, often possessing little knowledge, and as little prudence or humanity, could not fail to produce calamitous effects. In the case under consideration, where all the worst passions of the heart were irritated and inflamed, the consequences were lamentable. The orders were executed in the spirit in which they were given. Numbers of persons were put to death: many were imprisoned, and their property was destroyed or confiscated. The country was covered with blood and desolation, rancour and grief. Women and children were turned to the door, and their houses and substance consumed.

The prisoners on parole thought they had a clear right to take arms; for from their parole they had been released by the proclamation of the 20th of June, which, indeed, called them to the duty of subjects, a condition to which they had never consented: and therefore they reckoned that they had as good a right to resume their arms as the British commander had to enjoin their allegiance. The case of those who had taken British protections, in the full persuasion that they were to be allowed to live peaceably on their estates, but who, on finding that they must fight on one side or other, had repaired to the standards of their country, was equally hard. Deception and violence were practised against both. So long as the struggle appeared doubtful, the colonists met with fair promises and kind treatment; but at the moment when resistance seemed hopeless, and obedience necessary, they were addressed in the tone of authority, heard stern commands and bloody threatenings, and received harsh usage. Hence the province, which for some time presented the stillness of peace, again put on the ruthless aspect of war.

A number of persons of much respectability remained

prisoners of war in Charlestown, since the capitulation of that town; but, after the battle of Camden, earl Cornwallis ordered them to be carried out of the province. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 27th of August, some of the principal citizens of Charlestown were taken out of bed, put on board a guard-ship, and soon afterwards transported to St. Augustine. They remonstrated with lieutenant-colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charlestown, but experienced only the insolence of authority from that officer.

While earl Cornwallis endeavoured, by severe measures, to break the spirits of the people, and to establish the royal authority in South Carolina, he did not lose sight of his ulterior projects. He sent emissaries into North Carolina to excite the loyalists there, and to assure them of the speedy march of the British army into that province. On the 8th of September he left Camden, and towards the end of the month arrived at Charlotte Town, in North Carolina; of which place he took possession after a slight resistance from some volunteer cavalry under colonel Davie. Though symptoms of opposition manifested themselves at Charlotte, yet he advanced towards Salisbury, and ordered his militia to cross the Yadkin. But earl Cornwallis was suddenly arrested in his victorious career by an unexpected disaster. He made every exertion to embody the well-affected inhabitants of the country, and to form them into a British militia. For that purpose he employed major Ferguson, of the 71st regiment, an officer of much merit, with a small detachment, in the district of Ninety Six, to train the loyalists, and to attach them to his own party. From the operations of that officer he expected the most important services.

Ferguson executed his commission with activity and zeal; collected a large number of loyalists, and committed great depredations on the friends of independence in the back settlements. When about to return to the main army in triumph, he was detained by one of those incidents which occasionally occur in war, and influence the

course of events and the destiny of nations. A colonel Clarke of Georgia, who had fled from that province on its reduction by Campbell in 1779, had retired to the northward; and, having collected a number of followers in the Carolinas, he returned to his native province, at the head of about 700 men: and, while earl Cornwallis was marching from Camden to Charlotte Town, attacked the British post at Augusta. Lieutenant-colonel Brown, who commanded at that place with a garrison of about 150 provincials, aided by some friendly Indians, finding the town untenable, retired towards an eminence on the banks of the Savannah, named Garden Hill. But the enemy occupied it before his arrival: by bringing his artillery, however, to bear upon them, after a desperate conflict, he succeeded in dislodging them and in gaining possession of the hill, but with the loss of his cannon. There Clarke besieged him, till informed of the near approach of a British detachment from Ninety Six, under colonel Cruger. He then retreated, abandoning the cannon which he had taken; and, though pursued, effected his escape. Notice was instantly sent to Ferguson of Clarke's retreat, and of his route; and high hopes of intercepting him were entertained. For that purpose Ferguson remained longer in those parts, and approached nearer the mountains, than he would otherwise have done. As he had collected about 1500 men, he had no apprehension of any force assembling in that quarter able to embarrass him.

Meanwhile the depredations committed by Ferguson exasperated many of the inhabitants of the country, some of whom, fleeing across the Alleghany mountains, gave their western brethren an alarming account of the evils with which they were threatened. Those men, living in the full enjoyment of that independence for which the Atlantic states were struggling, resolved to keep the war at a distance from their settlements. The hardy mountaineers of the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina assembled under colonels Campbell, Shelby, Cleveland, and Sevier. Other parties, under

their several leaders, hastened to join them. They were all mounted, and unencumbered with baggage. Each man had his blanket, knapsack, and rifle; and set out in quest of Ferguson, equipped in the same manner as when they hunted the wild beasts of the forest. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the heavens a covering; the flowing stream quenched their thirst; their guns, their knapsacks, or a few cattle driven in their rear, supplied them with food. Their numbers made them formidable, and the rapidity of their movements rendered it difficult to escape them. They amounted to nearly 3000 men.

On hearing of their approach, Ferguson began to retreat towards Charlotte, and sent messengers to earl Cornwallis to apprise him of his danger. But the messengers were intercepted; and the earl remained ignorant of the perilous situation of his detachment. In the vicinity of Gilbert Town, the Americans, apprehensive of Ferguson's escape, selected 1000 of their best riflemen, mounted them on their fleetest horses, and sent them in pursuit. Their rapid movements rendered his retreat impracticable; and Ferguson, sensible that he would inevitably be overtaken, chose his ground on King's Mountain, on the confines of North and South Carolina, and waited the attack.

On the 7th of October the Americans came up with him. Campbell had the command; but his authority was merely nominal, for there was little military order or subordination in the attack. They agreed to divide their forces, in order to assail Ferguson from different quarters; and the divisions were led on by colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and Williams. Cleveland, who conducted the party which began the attack, addressed his men as follows:—

"My brave fellows! we have beaten the tories, and we can beat them. When engaged, you are not to wait for the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight: I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself an officer, and act on

his own judgment. Though repulsed, do not run off· return, and renew the combat. If any of you are afraid. you have not only leave to withdraw, but are requested to do so."

Cleveland instantly began the attack; but was soon compelled to retire before the bayonet. But Ferguson had no time to continue the pursuit: for Shelby came forward from an unexpected quarter, and poured in a destructive fire. Ferguson again resorted to the bayonet, and was again successful. But at that moment, Campbell's division advanced on another side, and a new battle began. Campbell, like his comrades, was obliged to retreat. But Cleveland had now rallied his division, and advanced anew to the combat. The royalists wheeled, and met this returning assailant. In this way there was an unremitting succession of attacks for about fifty minutes. Ferguson obstinately defended himself, and repulsed every assailant: but at last he fell mortally wounded; and the second in command, seeing the contest hopeless, surrendered. Ferguson and 150 of his men lay dead on the field; as many were wounded; nearly 700 laid down their arms; and upwards of 400 escaped. Among the prisoners the number of regular British soldiers did not amount to 100. The Americans lost about twenty men, who were killed on the field, and they had many wounded. They took 1500 stand of arms. Major Ferguson's position was good; but the hill abounded with wood, and afforded the Americans, who were all riflemen, an opportunity of fighting in their own way, and of firing from behind trees.

The Americans hanged ten of their prisoners on the spot, pleading the guilt of the individuals who suffered, and the example of the British, who had executed a greater number of Americans. One of the victims was a militia officer, who accepted a British commission, although he had formerly been in the American service. Those rude warriors, whose enterprise was the spontaneous impulse of their patriotism or revenge, who acknowledged no superior authority, and who were guided

by no superior counsels, having achieved their victory and attained their object, dispersed and returned home. Most of the prisoners were soon afterwards released on different conditions.

The ruin of Ferguson's detachment, from which so much had been expected, was a severe blow to earl Cornwallis: it disconcerted his plans, and prevented his progress northward. On the 14th of October, as soon after obtaining certain information of the fall of major Ferguson as the army could be put in motion, he left Charlotte, where Ferguson was to have met him, and began his retreat towards South Carolina. In that retrograde movement the army suffered severely: for several days it rained incessantly; the roads were almost impassable; the soldiers had no tents, and at night encamped in the woods in an unhealthy climate. The army was ill supplied with provisions: sometimes the men had beef, but no bread; at other times bread, but no beef. Once they subsisted during five days on Indian corn collected as it stood in the fields. Five ears were the daily allowance of two men; but the troops bore their toils and privations without a murmur.

In these trying circumstances, the American loyalists who had joined the royal standard were of great service; but their services were ill requited, and several of them, disgusted by the abusive language, and even blows, which they received from some of the officers, left the army for ever. At length the troops passed the Catawba, and on the 29th of October reached Wynnesborough, an intermediate station between Camden and Ninety Six. During this difficult march earl Cornwallis was ill, and lord Rawdon had the command.

CHAP. VI.

AMERICANS ASSEMBLE AT CHARLOTTE. — RETREAT TO SALISBURY AND HILLSBOROUGH. — RETURN TO CHARLOTTE. — GENERAL GREENE TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE SOUTHERN ARMY. — SUMPTER. — MARION. — BATTLE OF THE COW-PENS. — AMERICANS PURSUED. — THEIR TWO DIVISIONS FORM A JUNCTION. — CROSS THE DAN. — RECROSS THAT RIVER. — PYLE'S LOYALISTS DISCOMFITED. — BATTLE OF GUILDFORD COURT-HOUSE. — EARL CORNWALLIS RETIRES TO WILMINGTON.

During those movements of the royal army, the Americans were not idle. Defeated, but not subdued, they were active in preparing to renew the struggle. After the defeat and dispersion of his army at Camden, general Gates fled to Charlotte, eighty miles from the field of battle. There he halted, to collect the straggling fugitives, and to endeavour from the wreck of his discomfited army to form a force with which he might check or impede the advancing foe. He was soon joined by generals Smallwood and Gist, and about 150 dispirited officers and soldiers. Most of the militia who escaped returned home; and general Caswell was ordered to assemble those of the neighbouring counties. Major Anderson, of the third Maryland regiment, who had collected a number of fugitives not far from the field of battle, proceeded towards Charlotte by easy marches, in order to give stragglers time to join him. But as Charlotte was utterly indefensible, and as no barrier lay between it and the victorious enemy, general Gates retreated to Salisbury, and sent colonel Williams, accompanied by another officer, on the road leading to Camden, to gain information of the movements of earl Cornwallis, and to direct such stragglers as he met to hasten to Salisbury. From Salisbury general Gates proceeded to Hillsborough, where he intended to assemble an army with which he might contend for the southern provinces.

At Hillsborough every exertion was made to collect and organise a military force; and ere long general Gates was again at the head of 1400 men. Even before the royal army entered North Carolina that state had called out the second division of its militia, under generals Davidson and Sumner; and they were joined by the volunteer cavalry under colonel Davie.

When earl Cornwallis entered Charlotte, general Gates ordered general Smallwood to take post at the fords of the Yadkin, in order to dispute the passage of the river; and Morgan, who had often distinguished himself by his courage and activity, and who had joined the southern army with the rank of brigadier-general, was employed with a light corps to harass the enemy.

When earl Cornwallis retreated, general Gates advanced to Charlotte; he stationed general Smallwood farther down the Catawba on the road to Camden, and ordered general Morgan to some distance in his front. Such was the position of the troops when general Gates was superseded in the command of the southern army.

On the 5th of October, congress, without any previous indications of dissatisfaction, passed a resolution requiring the commander-in-chief to order a court of enquiry into the conduct of major-general Gates, as commander of the southern army; and to appoint another officer to that command till such enquiry should be made. The order of congress to enquire into the conduct of general Gates was dissatisfactory to the best American officers: it was afterwards dispensed with, and Gates restored to a command in the army.

Meanwhile general Washington recommended major-general Greene to congress, as a person qualified to command the southern army. Nathaniel Greene, a native of Rhode Island, was brought up among the Quakers, but was cast out of their society when he joined the army. He was in camp when general Washington took the command before Boston; and, by his activity, intrepidity, and good conduct, gained the confidence of the

commander-in-chief in a high degree; who recommended him as an officer in whose ability, fortitude, and integrity, he could trust. Writing on the subject to Mr. Matthews, a delegate of South Carolina, he said, "I think I am giving you a general: but what can a general do without men, without arms, without clothes, without stores, without provisions?" Greene did not discredit the recommendation of his superior, nor disappoint the hopes of his country. In his progress southward, he visited the governors and legislatures of the states through which he passed; but in some parts of the country found the people so hostile, that he was not without apprehensions of personal danger.

On the 2d of December, general Greene arrived at Charlotte, and informed general Gates of his commission. That was the first official notice which general Gates received of his removal from the command of the southern army: so unceremoniously was the hero of Saratoga treated, the moment that victory ceased to hover round his standards. Next day Gates resigned the command of the army with becoming dignity and patriotism; and Greene, who was dissatisfied with the treatment which he had received, behaved towards him with the most polite attention.

In a few hours after general Greene entered on his command, he received the report of one of Morgan's foraging parties, not far from Camden. The party advanced to the vicinity of the British posts at Clermont, which was viewed by colonel Washington, who saw that it was too strong to be taken by small arms and cavalry, the only weapons and force present; he therefore had recourse to stratagem. Having made an imposing show of part of his men, and having placed the trunk of a pine tree in such a situation as, at a distance, to have the appearance of a cannon, he summoned the post to surrender, and it yielded without firing a shot. The militia-colonel Rugely and 112 men whom he had collected in the place were made prisoners. This inconsiderable event elated general Greene's army, and

was considered by them as a good omen of success under their new leader.

General Greene's situation was embarrassing: his army was feeble, consisting, on the 8th of December, of 2029 infantry, of whom 1482 were in camp and 547 in detachments; 821 were continentals, and 1208 were militia. Besides these there were 90 cavalry, 60 artillerymen, and 128 continentals on extra service, constituting in all a force of 2307 men.

In North Carolina there were many loyalists, and hostilities were carried on between them and their republican neighbours with the most rancorous animosity. They pursued, plundered, and massacred each other with the ruthless fury of beasts of prey; and, even without the presence of contending armies, threatened, by their mutual violence, to render the province a scene of carnage and devastation. The country was thinly inhabited, and abounded in woods and swamps. The cultivated parts were laid waste by hostile factions, and no magazines for the army were provided. The troops were almost naked, and general Greene was obliged to procure subsistence for them day by day: yet, in these circumstances, the supporters of congress expected him instantly to drive the British from the southern provinces. He was sensible that every thing depended on public opinion, and felt the difficulty of at once preserving the good will and promoting the interests of the people. He was well aware that by rushing into precipitate measures he might gain their momentary approbation, but would ruin their cause. After maturely considering all circumstances, he resolved to divide his forces and carry on a desultory warfare.

In order to repress some irregularities which had been practised in the army, he was obliged to have recourse to severity; and succeeded in establishing more exact discipline than had been formerly enforced. At a very early period of his command he received a letter from earl Cornwallis, complaining of the treatment of the prisoners taken at King's Mountain, and stating that he

had found himself obliged to make some retaliation. General Greene replied, that he was too much a stranger to the transaction at King's Mountain to reply fully on that point; but alleged, that the excesses at that place must have been committed by volunteers independent of the army, and that what had been done there was only in imitation of the example set by earl Cornwallis himself. He also complained of the transportation of the inhabitants of Charlestown to St. Augustine, as a violation of the articles of capitulation.

This epistolary correspondence was soon succeeded by more active operations. General Greene found that he could not long remain at Charlotte, for the country between that place and Camden, having been traversed by the contending armies, was quite exhausted. In order, therefore, to procure subsistence for his troops, as well as to distract and harass the enemy, the American general, though fully aware of the danger of such a measure, felt himself constrained to divide his little army.

General Morgan had been invested with the command of the light troops by general Gates; and general Greene placed him at the head of one of the divisions of his army, consisting of nearly 400 infantry under lieutenant-colonel Howard, 170 Virginia riflemen under major Triplett, and 80 light dragoons under lieutenant-colonel Washington. With this small force Morgan was sent to the south of the Catawba to observe the British at Wynnesborough and Camden, and to shift for himself; but was directed to risk as little as possible. On the 25th of December he took a position towards the western frontier of South Carolina, not far from the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad River, and about fifty miles north-west from Wynnesborough. With the other division of his army general Greene left Charlotte on the 20th of the same month; and, on the 29th, arrived at Hick's Corner on the east side of the Peedee, opposite the Cheraw hills, about seventy miles north-east from Wynnesborough, where he remained some

time. He marched to that place in the hope of finding more plentiful subsistence for his troops; but his difficulties in that respect were not much diminished, for the country was almost laid waste by the cruel feuds of the hostile factions.

General Morgan did not long remain inactive. On the 27th of December he detached colonel Washington with his dragoons and 200 militia, who next day marched forty miles, surprised a body of loyalists at Ninety Six, killed or wounded 150 of them, and took forty prisoners, without sustaining any loss. At that time Morgan was joined by major M'Dowal with 200 North Carolina, and by colonel Pickens with seventy South Carolina, militia.

The British had to contend not only with the force under Greene and Morgan, but were also obliged to watch other adversaries not less active and enterprising. Sumpter had been defeated by Tarleton on the 18th of August, and his followers dispersed: but that daring and indefatigable partisan did not long remain quiet. He was soon again at the head of a considerable band, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Always changing his position about Enoree, Broad, and Tiger rivers, he infested the British posts in that quarter. On the 12th of November he was attacked at Broad River by major Wemyss; but repulsed the party, and made the major prisoner. On the 20th of the same month he was attacked by colonel Tarleton at Black Stocks near Tiger River: the encounter was sharp and obstinate; Tarleton was repulsed with loss; but Sumpter was wounded in the battle, and, being unfitted for active service, his followers dispersed. Sumpter showed much humanity to his prisoners. Although major Wemyss had deliberately hanged Mr. Cusack in Cheraw district, and although he had in his pocket a list of several houses burned by his orders, yet he met with every indulgence. At Black Stocks the wounded were kindly treated.

Other partisan chiefs arose, and among them general

Marion held a distinguished place. That gentleman had commanded a regiment in Charlestown at the time of the siege; but having received a wound which fractured his leg, and being incapable of discharging the active duties of his office, he withdrew from the town. He was created a brigadier-general by governor Rutledge. On the advance of general Gates, having procured a band of followers, he penetrated to the Santee, harassed the British detachments, and discouraged the loyalists. After the defeat of the Americans at Camden, he rescued a party of continental prisoners who were under a British guard. So ill was he provided with arms, that he was obliged to forge the saws of the saw-mills into rude swords for his horsemen; and so scanty was his ammunition, that at times he engaged when he had not three cartridges to each of his party. He secured himself from pursuit in the recesses of the forest, and in deep swamps.

In order to discourage his followers, major Wemyss burned many houses on the Peedee, Lynch's Creek, and Black River, on pretence that their proprietors were followers of Marion: but that severe policy only strengthened the hands of the daring leader; for despair and revenge made these ruined citizens cleave to his standard. He became so troublesome that Tarleton was sent against him, but was unable to bring him to action.

Earl Cornwallis impatiently waited the arrival of reinforcements. After the victory at Camden, when he was flushed with the sanguine hope not only of overrunning North Carolina, but of invading Virginia, general Leslie was detached from New York to the southward with a considerable body of troops, and, according to orders, landed in Virginia, expecting to meet the southern army in that state. On finding himself unable to accomplish his lofty schemes, and obliged to fall back into South Carolina, lord Cornwallis ordered general Leslie to reimbark and sail for Charlestown. He arrived there on the 13th of December, and on the

19th began his march with 1500 men to join earl Cornwallis. His lordship resolved to begin offensive operations immediately on the arrival of his reinforcements; but, in the mean time, alarmed by the movements of Morgan for the safety of the British post at Ninety Six, he detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with the light and legion infantry, the fusileers or 7th regiment, the first battalion of the 71st regiment, 350 cavalry, two field-pieces, and an adequate number of the royal artillery, in all about 1100 men, with orders to strike a blow at Morgan, and drive him out of the province. As Tarleton's force was known to be superior to that under Morgan, no doubt whatever was entertained of the precipitate flight or total discomfiture of the Americans.

Meanwhile earl Cornwallis left Wynnesborough, and proceeded towards the north-west, between the Broad and Catawba rivers. General Leslie, who had halted at Camden, in order to conceal from the Americans as long as possible the road which the British army was to take, was now ordered to advance up the Catawba, and join the main body on its march. By this route earl Cornwallis hoped to intercept Morgan if he should escape Tarleton, or perhaps to get between general Greene and Virginia, and compel him to fight before the arrival of his expected reinforcements. The British generals, encumbered with baggage and military stores, marching through bad roads, and a country intersected by rivulets which were often swollen by the rains, advanced but slowly. Colonel Tarleton, however, with his light troops proceeded with great celerity, and overtook Morgan, probably sooner than was expected.

On the 14th of January, 1781, general Morgan was informed of the movements of the British army, and got notice of the march of Tarleton and of the force under his command. Sensible of his danger, he began to retreat, and crossed the Pacolet, the passage of which he was inclined to dispute; but, on being told that Tarleton had forded the river six miles above him, he made a precipitate retreat; and at ten at night, on the 16th of

January, the British took possession of the ground which the Americans had left a few hours before.

Although his troops were much fatigued by several days' hard marching through a difficult country, yet, determined that the enemy should not escape, Tarleton resumed the pursuit at three next morning, leaving his baggage behind under a guard, with orders not to move till break of day. Morgan, though retreating, was not inclined to flee. By great exertions, he might have crossed Broad River, or reached a hilly tract of country before he could have been overtaken. He was inferior to Tarleton in the number of his troops, but more so in their quality; as a considerable part of his force consisted of militia, and the British cavalry were three times more numerous than the American. But Morgan, who had great confidence both in himself and in his men, was apprehensive of being overtaken before he could pass Broad River, and he chose rather to fight voluntarily than to be forced to a battle. Therefore, having been joined by some militia under colonel Pickens, he halted at a place called the Cow-Pens, about three miles from the line of separation between North and South Carolina. Before daylight, on the morning of the 17th of January, he was informed of the near approach of colonel Tarleton, and instantly prepared to receive him.

The ground on which general Morgan halted had no great advantages; but his dispositions were judicious. On rising ground, in an open wood, he drew up his continental troops and Triplett's corps, amounting together to nearly 500 men, under lieutenant-colonel Howard. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, was posted in their rear, behind the eminence, ready to act as occasion might require. At a small distance, in front of his continentals, was a line of militia under colonel Pickens and major M'Dowell; and 150 yards in front of Pickens was stationed a battalion of North Carolina and Georgia volunteers under major Cunningham, with orders to give one discharge on the approaching enemy, and then to retreat and join the militia. Pickens was

directed, when he could no longer keep his ground, to fall back, with a retreating fire, and form on the right of the continentals.

Scarcely were those dispositions made when the British van appeared. Colonel Tarleton, who had been informed by two prisoners of Morgan's position and strength, instantly formed his troops. The light and legion infantry, and the 7th regiment, and a captain with fifty dragoons on each flank, constituted his first line: the first battalion of the 71st regiment and the rest of the cavalry composed the reserve. Formerly Tarleton had succeeded by sudden and impetuous assaults; and, entertaining no doubt of speedy and complete victory on the present occasion, he led on his men to the attack with characteristic ardour, even before his troops were well formed. The British rushed forward impetuously, shouting and firing as they advanced. The American volunteers, after a single discharge, retreated to the militia under Pickens. The British advanced rapidly, and furiously attacked the militia, who soon gave way, and sought shelter in the rear of the continentals. Tarleton eagerly pressed on: but the continentals, undismayed by the retreat of the militia, received him firmly, and an obstinate conflict ensued. Tarleton ordered up his reserve; and the continental line was shaken by the violence of the onset. Morgan ordered his men to retreat to the summit of the eminence, and was instantly obeyed. The British, whose ranks were somewhat thinned, exhausted by the previous march and by the struggle in which they had been engaged, and believing the victory won, pursued in some disorder; but, on reaching the top of the hill, Howard ordered his men to wheel and face the enemy: they instantly obeyed, and met the pursuing foe with a well directed and deadly fire. This unexpected and destructive volley threw the British into some confusion, which Howard observing, ordered his men to charge them with the bayonet. Their obedience was as prompt as before; and the British line was soon broken. About the same moment, Washington routed

the cavalry on the British right, who had pursued the fleeing militia, and were cutting them down on the left and even in the rear of the continentals. Ordering his men not to fire a pistol, Washington charged the British cavalry sword in hand. The conflict was sharp, but not of long duration. The British were driven from the ground with considerable loss, and closely pursued. Howard and Washington pressed the advantage which they had gained: many of the militia rallied, and joined in the battle. In a few minutes after the British had been pursuing the enemy, without a doubt of victory, the fortune of the day entirely changed: their artillerymen were killed, their cannon taken, and the greater part of the infantry compelled to lay down their arms. Tarleton, with about forty horse, made a furious charge on Washington's cavalry; but the battle was irrecoverably lost, and he was reluctantly obliged to retreat. Upwards of 200 of his cavalry, who had not been engaged, fled through the woods with the utmost precipitation, bearing away with them such of the officers as endeavoured to oppose their flight. The only part of the infantry which escaped, was the detachment left to guard the baggage, which they destroyed when informed of the defeat, and, mounting the waggon and spare horses, hastily retreated to the army. The cavalry arrived in camp in two divisions; one in the evening, with the tidings of their disastrous discomfiture, and the other, under Tarleton himself, appeared next morning.

In this battle the British had ten commissioned officers and upwards of 100 privates killed. More than 500 were made prisoners, nearly 200 of whom, including 29 commissioned officers, were wounded. Two pieces of artillery, two standards, 800 muskets, 35 baggage-waggons, and about 100 horses, fell into the hands of the Americans, whose loss amounted only to twelve men killed, and sixty wounded. The British force under Tarleton has been commonly estimated at 1100 men, and the American army at 1000; although general Morgan, in his official report to general Greene,

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written two days after the battle, states it to have been only 800.

Formerly Tarleton had been successful by the celerity of his movements, and by the impetuosity of his sudden and unexpected attacks, chiefly on raw troops. But at the Cow-Pens he was opposed to an officer as daring as himself, and who was prepared to receive him at the head of a band of veterans. Seldom has a battle in which the number of combatants was so small produced such important consequences; for the loss of the light infantry not only considerably diminished the force, but also crippled the movements, of earl Cornwallis during the campaign.

Lord Cornwallis was at Turkey Creek, twenty-five miles from the Cow-Pens, confident of the success of his detachment, or at least without the slightest apprehension of its defeat. He was between Green and Morgan; and it was a matter of much importance to prevent their junction, and to overthrow the one of them while he could receive no support from the other. For that purpose he had marched up Broad River, and instructed general Leslie to proceed on the banks of the Catawba, in order to keep the Americans in a state of uncertainty concerning the route which he intended to pursue; but the unexpected defeat of his detachment was an occurrence equally mortifying and perplexing, and nothing remained but to endeavour to compensate the disaster by the rapidity of his movements and the decision of his conduct.

He was as near the fords of the Catawba as Morgan; and flattered himself that, elated with victory and encumbered with prisoners and baggage, that officer might yet be overtaken before he could pass those fords. Accordingly, on the 18th of January he formed a junction with general Leslie, and on the 19th began his remarkable pursuit of Morgan. In order the more certainly to accomplish his end, at Ramsour's Mills he destroyed the whole of his superfluous baggage. He set the example by considerably diminishing the quantity of his own, and

was readily imitated by his officers, although some of them suffered much less by the measure. He retained no waggons, except those loaded with hospital stores and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. But notwithstanding all his privations and exertions, he ultimately missed his aim; for general Morgan displayed as much prudence and activity after his victory as bravery in gaining it. Fully aware of his danger, he left behind him, under a flag of truce, such of the wounded as could not be moved, with surgeons to attend them; and, scarcely giving his men time to breathe, he sent off his prisoners, under an escort of militia, and followed with his regular troops and cavalry, bringing up the rear in person. He crossed Broad River at the upper fords, hastened to the Catawba, which he reached on the evening of the 28th, and safely passed it with his prisoners and troops next day; his rear having gained the northern bank only about two hours before the van of the British army appeared on the opposite side.

Much rain had fallen on the mountains a short time before, and it rained incessantly during the night. The river rose, and in the morning was impassable. General Morgan made a hair-breadth escape; for, had the river risen a few hours sooner, he would have been unable to pass, and probably would have been overtaken and overwhelmed by his pursuers: and had the flood in the river been a little later, earl Cornwallis might have forced a passage, and entirely discomfited the American division. But it was two days before the inundation subsided; and, in that interval, Morgan sent off his prisoners towards Charlotteville in Virginia, under an escort of militia; and they were soon beyond the reach of pursuit. The Americans regarded the swelling of the river with pious gratitude, as an interposition of Heaven in their behalf, and looked forward with increased confidence to the day of ultimate success.

General Morgan called for the assistance of the neighbouring militia, and prepared to dispute the passage of

the river; but, on the 31st of January, while he lay at Sherwood's Ford, general Greene unexpectedly appeared in camp, and took on himself the command. Towards the end of December, general Greene, as already mentioned, took a position at Hick's Creek, on the east side of the Peedee; and had in camp 1100 continental and state troops fit for service. On the 12th of January he was joined by colonel Lee's partisan legion, which arrived from the north, and consisted of 100 well mounted horsemen, and 120 infantry. This reinforcement was next day despatched on a secret expedition; and, in order to divert the attention of the enemy from the movements of the legion, major Anderson, with a small detachment, was sent down the Peedee. On the night of the 24th, Lee surprised Georgetown, and killed some of the garrison; but the greater part fled into the fort, which Lee was not in a condition to besiege.

On hearing of Morgan's victory and danger, general Greene's great aim was to effect the junction of his two divisions. Accordingly he called in his detachments; and, leaving the division at Hick's Creek, under the command of general Huger and colonel Otho Holland Williams, and accompanied only by one aide-de-camp and two or three mounted militiamen, he set out to meet Morgan, in the persuasion that on the spot he could better direct the movements of the troops than by any written instructions. On his journey he was informed that Cornwallis was in rapid pursuit of Morgan: he therefore despatched instructions to Huger and Williams to march as fast as possible in order to join Morgan's division at Charlotte or Salisbury, as circumstances might permit. After a ride of 150 miles, Greene arrived in Morgan's camp on the 31st.

On the evening of the 31st of January, the river had subsided, but the fords were all guarded. Earl Cornwallis, however, resolved to attempt the passage; and, in order to perplex the Americans, made a show of intending to cross at different points. Colonel Webster

with one division of the army, was sent to Beattie's Ford to cannonade the enemy on the opposite bank, and make a feint of attempting to force the passage; but the real attempt was to be made at a private ford near M'Cowan's. For that purpose the division of the army under the immediate orders of earl Cornwallis, left their ground at one in the morning of the 1st of February, and arrived at the ford towards dawn of day. The fires on the opposite bank showed the British commander that the ford, though a private one, was not neglected. General Davidson, with 300 militia, had been sent on the preceding evening to guard it; and was directed by general Greene to post his men close by the side of the river: he, however, stationed only a small party on the bank, while the rest were encamped at some distance.

Although earl Cornwallis perceived that he would meet with opposition, yet he determined to force the passage. The river was about 500 yards wide, 3 feet deep, and the stream rapid. The light infantry of the guards, under colonel Hall, accompanied by a guide, first entered the ford: they were followed by the grenadiers, who were succeeded by the battalions; the men moving in platoons, in order to support each other against the rapidity of the current. When near the middle of the river, they were challenged by an American sentinel, who, receiving no answer, after challenging thrice, gave the alarm by firing his musket. The party on the bank instantly turned out, and began to fire in the line of the ford. On the first discharge the guide fled, and colonel Hall, ignorant of the direction of the ford, led his men straight across the river. This carried the column considerably above the termination of the ford, and, consequently, took them out of the line of the American fire, which, in the darkness of the morning, was kept up in the direction of the ford, and fell diagonally on the rear of the grenadiers. As soon as Davidson perceived the direction of the British column, he led his men to the point where it was about

to land. But, before he arrived, the light infantry had overcome all difficulties, and were ascending the bank and forming. While passing the river, in obedience to orders, they reserved their fire; and, on gaining the bank, soon put the militia to flight. Davidson was the last to retreat, and on mounting his horse to retire he received a mortal wound.

The defeat of Davidson opened the passage of the river. All the American parties retreated; and, on the same day, the rest of the British army crossed at Beattie's Ford. Tarleton, with the cavalry and the 23d regiment, was sent in pursuit of the militia; and being informed on his march that the neighbouring militia were assembling at Tarrant's Tavern, about ten miles distant, he hastened with the cavalry to that place. About 500 militia were assembled, and seemed not unprepared to receive him. He attacked them with his usual impetuosity, and soon defeated and dispersed them with considerable slaughter. The passage of the river, and the total discomfiture of the party at Tarrant's Tavern, so much intimidated the inhabitants of the country, that the royal army received no further trouble from the militia till it passed the Yadkin.

A grand military race now began between the retreating Americans under general Greene, and the pursuing British under earl Corwallis. General Greene marched so rapidly that he passed the Yadkin at the trading ford on the night between the 2d and 3d of February, partly by fording and partly by means of boats and flats. So closely was he pursued that the British van was often in sight of the American rear; and a sharp conflict happened, not far from the ford, between a body of American riflemen and the advanced guard of the British army, when the latter obtained possession of a few waggons. General Greene secured all the boats on the south side: and here it again happened as at the Catawba; the river suddenly rose, by reason of the preceding rains, and the British were unable to pass. This second escape by the swelling of the

waters was interpreted by the Americans as a visible interposition of Heaven in their behalf, and inspired them with a lofty enthusiasm in that cause which seemed to be the peculiar care of Omnipotence.

The river being unfordable, and still continuing to rise, all the boats being removed, and the weather appearing unsettled, earl Cornwallis resolved to march up the south bank of the Yadkin about twenty-five miles to the shallow fords near its source, which are commonly passable. General Greene, released from the immediate pressure of his pursuers, continued his march northward; and on the 7th of February joined his division under Huger and Williams near Guildford Court-house. Thus earl Cornwallis missed his first aim, which was, to recover the prisoners, to retaliate the blow which Morgan had given at the Cow-Pens, to prevent the junction of the two divisions of the American army, and to overwhelm one or both of them. The failure was not owing to any want of exertion on the part of the British general, but to events equally unforeseen and above the reach of human control, which were actively improved by the Americans.

General Greene's army was inferior to the force under earl Cornwallis; and therefore the British general deemed it important to get between Virginia and general Greene, and to compel him to fight before he was strengthened by his expected reinforcements. Accordingly, although his army was without tents, and, like the Americans, obliged to subsist on what it could hastily procure in a rapid march, he resolved not to abandon the pursuit of the enemy.

General Greene's infantry amounted to 2000 men, and he had between 200 and 300 cavalry; but his equipments were greatly inferior to those of the British. He believed earl Cornwallis to have upwards of 2500 men, and he therefore determined to avoid a battle if possible. His aim was to retire into Virginia; that of earl Cornwallis was to prevent the execution of that movement, and to fight the Americans without delay.

The river Dan, the largest and most southern branch of the Roanoke, separates North Carolina from Virginia: and the British general was informed that the lower fords of that river were impassable in winter; that the ferries were distant from each other; and that no sufficient number of boats or flats could be collected at any one ferry to transport the American army in a convenient time. He reasonably concluded that if he could prevent general Greene from passing the upper fords, he might overtake and overwhelm him before he could cross at the lower ferries.

Dix's ferry, about fifty miles from Guildford Courthouse, was in the direct road to Virginia; but the British were as near it as the Americans, and it was impossible to bring up boats from the lower ferries against the rapid current of the river to transport the Americans before the arrival of the British. That route, therefore, was abandoned as impracticable. But there are two other ferries, Boyd's and Irwin's, only four miles distant from each other, considerably farther down the river, and about seventy miles from Guildford Courthouse. The Americans were nearest those ferries by about twenty-five miles, the whole distance between the two armies; and, consequently, in that direction they had by so much the start of their pursuing enemies. Besides, all the boats at Dix's and the intermediate ferries could easily be conducted down the stream to Boyd's and Irwin's. An officer, therefore, with a few men, was instantly despatched to perform that service.

In order to cover his retreat, and to check the pursuing enemy, general Greene formed a light corps out of Lee's legion, Howard's infantry, Washington's cavalry, and some Virginia riflemen under major Campbell, amounting to 700 men, the flower of the southern army. As general Morgan was severely indisposed, the command of these light troops was given to colonel Otho Holland Williams.

Having refreshed his troops, and made the necessary arrangements, on the morning of the 10th of February,

general Greene left Guildford Court-house on his march towards the Dan; and was pursued by earl Cornwallis, who had been detained by the long circuit which he was obliged to make in order to pass the Yadkin. The retreat and pursuit were equally rapid; but the boldness and activity of the American light troops compelled the British to march compactly and with caution; for on one occasion colonel Lee charged the advanced cavalry of the British army suddenly and furiously, killed a number, and made some prisoners. General Greene's precautions and preparations for passing the Dan were successful; and, on the 14th of February, he crossed that river at Boyd's and Irwin's Ferries, with his army, baggage, and stores. Although his light troops had marched forty miles that day, yet the last of them had scarcely reached the northern bank, when the advanced guard of the British army appeared on the other side of the river.

The escape of general Greene into Virginia, without a battle, and without any loss, except a few wagons at the Yadkin, was a severe disappointment to earl Cornwallis. The pursuit was at an end, and the Americans safe; for the river was deep, all the boats were removed from the south side, and the American army was posted on the opposite bank; General Greene's prudence and activity having accomplished what was deemed impracticable.

In this retreat and pursuit of more than 200 miles, both armies endured excessive fatigue and hardships. Want of tents, bad roads, heavy rains, swollen rivulets, and scarcity of provisions, were privations and sufferings common to each. The men were often thoroughly wetted, without any means of drying themselves till the moisture was evaporated by the heat of their bodies. The inclement season of the year aggravated their sufferings. But under these trials the British soldiers had great advantages, for they were provided with shoes, and comfortably clothed. But the Americans were in rags, and many of them barefooted: the blood flowing from the

gashes in their naked feet marked their line of march. Yet both armies bore all with patient fortitude and without a murmur. The Americans did not lose a single sentinel by desertion.

Earl Cornwallis entirely failed in his attempts against general Greene; but he was consoled by the reflection that he had completely driven the enemy out of North Carolina, and that now there was nothing to hinder the loyal inhabitants from openly espousing his cause and reinforcing his army. By easy marches he fell back to Hillsborough, where, on the 20th of the month, he erected the royal standard, and called on the people to join his army, and assist him in restoring order and constitutional government in the country.

Originally, in North Carolina, the loyalists were more numerous than in any of the other colonies; but unsuccessful insurrections had considerably cooled their zeal and diminished their numbers. Some had left the province, and joined the royal army in South Carolina; and many, rendered cautious by experience, resolved to watch the course of events, and not rashly to expose their lives and fortunes in a doubtful and hazardous cause. Considerable numbers, however, determined to encounter every risk, and made preparations for repairing to the royal standard. But those proceedings were soon checked. For general Greene, aware of the inclinations of many of the people, on the 18th sent Lee's legion across the Dan, into North Carolina, to watch the royal army, counteract the proclamation, and intimidate the loyalists; and, being reinforced by 600 Virginia militia, under general Stevens, on the 21st and 22d of February he repassed the river with his whole army, and advanced towards the British encampment. In order to perplex and harass earl Cornwallis, and to discourage the loyalists, he sent forward his light troops to hover round the British quarters; while, with his main body, he proceeded slowly, by the route most favourable for forming a junction with some North Carolina and Virginia militia who were returning from a war

with the Cherokees. With the force then under his command, he had no intention of hazarding a general action; but he knew that his presence in the province would overawe the loyalists, and encourage the friends of congress.

Earl Cornwallis was indefatigable in exciting to arms the adherents of royal government. In one day he embodied seven independent companies; and considerable numbers were assembling in order to join his army. Colonel Tarleton, with part of the legion, was detached over the Haw River, to protect and conduct to camp a body of loyalists who had agreed to meet at O'Neil's Plantation. General Pickens and colonel Lee got notice of Tarleton's movements and design, and concerted measures for attacking him and frustrating his intentions. Lee, with his cavalry, was to fall upon Tarleton; while Pickens, with his militia, was to disperse the loyalists. On the evening of the 25th the loyalists were paraded in a lane leading to O'Neil's house, when Lee entered it with his cavalry. At first he mistook them for Pickens' militia, who, he imagined, had reached the place before him. They were equally in error with respect to him. They mistook his cavalry for Tarleton's. Lee, however, on observing the red rag on their hat, the badge of loyalty, soon became sensible of their real character; but he resolved to pass on towards Tarleton, leaving the tories to Pickens. That officer with his militia soon came up: a firing between him and the loyalists immediately began; and Lee, perceiving that Tarleton, who was within a mile, would be alarmed, and could not now be surprised, instantly wheeled and fell upon the astonished loyalists, who, as he was cutting them down, exclaimed that they were the king's best friends. A horrible carnage ensued. Political animosity had extinguished the feelings of humanity; and these unhappy loyalists, between 200 and 300 in number, with colonel Pyle their leader, fell under the merciless sabres of their enraged countrymen.

On hearing the firing, Tarleton, who was refreshing his men about a mile from the bloody scene, instantly mounted, recrossed the Haw, and hastened to Hillsborough. He met some loyalists on their way to camp; and, mistaking them for provincial militia, put them to the sabre. Thus these unfortunate persons were massacred equally by those whom they came to assist and those whom they meant to oppose. General Greene's repassing the Dan, and the massacre of colonel Pyle's corps, disconcerted the measures of earl Cornwallis, and so completely intimidated the loyal inhabitants that few of them afterwards repaired to the royal standard.

The country about Hillsborough, having been traversed by both armies, was nearly exhausted; and it was obvious that the royal army could not long remain at that place. Although earl Cornwallis, in his proclamation, had allowed forty days to the loyal inhabitants to come in, yet, on the 27th of February, only six days after issuing the proclamation, he found it expedient to decamp from Hillsborough. He passed the Haw, a branch of Cape Fear River, and took a position on Allamanee Creek, in order to procure provisions for his troops, and to protect the numerous loyal inhabitants residing between the Haw and Deep River.

As earl Cornwallis retreated, general Greene advanced, passed the northern branch of the Haw, and encamped between Troublesome Creek and Reedy Fork. He assumed a confident air, although he did not yet feel himself strong enough to hazard a battle; and, in order to avoid a surprise, he changed his ground every night, without disclosing to any person beforehand the new position which he intended to take. In his difficult and critical movements to check an enemy whom he durst not encounter, to repress the loyal zeal of a population hostile to his cause, and to maintain positions favourable to a junction with his expected reinforcements, general Greene was greatly assisted by an active light infantry and a daring body of cavalry, who penetrated the country in every direction, and so overawed the loyalists that earl

Cornwallis found it difficult to procure information on which he could rely.

After several movements the American light troops and some militia took post on the branches of Reedy Fork, while general Greene, with his main body, lay at some distance towards Guildford Court-house. Early in the morning of the 6th of March, earl Cornwallis, under cover of a thick fog, passed the Allamance, and marched towards Reedy Fork to beat up the quarters of the light troops, and to bring general Greene to a battle if a favourable opportunity presented itself. A sharp encounter ensued, and some loss was sustained on each side. The Americans retreated; but no important advantage was gained over them. General Greene fell back to the iron-works on Troublesome Creek, and earl Cornwallis returned to his station near the Quakers' meeting-house at the forks of Deep River.

At length general Greene received all the reinforcements which he expected; therefore he again advanced, and took a position near Guildford Court-house, within about ten miles of the British encampment. On the 13th of March his army amounted to 4261 men, including 180 cavalry, under colonels Washington and Lee. The continental infantry amounted to 1490. The rest of the army consisted of the Virginia militia, commanded by general Stevens; and of the North Carolina militia, under generals Butler and Eaton. Hitherto general Greene had studiously avoided a battle; but having received all his reinforcements, and knowing that the militia could not long be kept in the field, he now resolved to risk a general engagement. His movements indicated his intention; and earl Cornwallis readily embraced the proffered opportunity of a battle. Accordingly, on the evening of the 14th of March he sent off his baggage under a proper escort to Bell's Mills on Deep River, and early next morning put his army in motion towards Guildford Court-house.

General Greene, who was meditating an attack on his lordship, had his men prepared for action, when the

firing of his advanced parties gave him notice of the approach of the British army. About three miles in front of the American encampment, the van of the royal troops, consisting of the cavalry, the light infantry of the guards, and the yagers, under colonel Tarleton, fell in with the American advanced guard, consisting of Lee's legion, with some riflemen under Campbell and Lynch. A severe conflict ensued, and was obstinately maintained on both sides, till the appearance of the 23d regiment to support Tarleton made Lee hastily retreat. During this skirmish general Greene put his army in order of battle, about a mile from Guildford Court-house. The whole country presented the appearance of a vast wilderness covered with tall trees and a thick underwood, interspersed with a few cleared fields. General Greene drew up his army in three lines on a large hill, surrounded by other woody eminences: his first line, composed entirely of the militia of North Carolina, and amounting to 1060 men, exclusive of officers, under generals Butler and Eaton, was advantageously posted on the edge of the wood behind a strong rail fence, with an extensive open field in front of their centre, through which ran the great road to Salisbury; on it, in the centre of the line, were placed two field-pieces. The second line, consisting of the two brigades of Virginia militia, amounting to 1123 men under generals Stevens and Lawson, was drawn up in the wood, about 300 yards behind the first, and on both sides of the great road to Salisbury. General Stevens posted forty riflemen at equal distances, twenty yards in the rear of his brigade, with directions to shoot every man who should leave his post without orders. The third line, posted about 300 yards behind the second, consisted of the Virginia regular troops under general Huger on the right, and the Maryland brigade under colonel Williams on the left: this line was drawn up obliquely, with its left diverging from the second line, and partly in open ground. Washington, with his cavalry and some riflemen, formed a corps of observation on the right flank;

and Lee's legion, with a body of riflemen under Campbell and Preston, covered the left. The baggage was sent off to the iron-works on Troublesome Creek, where the army was ordered to rendezvous in case of defeat.

After the rencounter between Lee and Tarleton, earl Cornwallis continued his march towards the American army; and, as soon as the head of the column appeared in sight, it was met by a cannonade from the two six-pounders stationed on the road. The British returned the fire. Earl Cornwallis instantly made his dispositions for the attack. The 71st regiment, and the regiment of Bosc, led by general Leslie, supported by the first battalion of the guards under colonel Norton, formed his right wing. The 23d and 33d regiments, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Webster, supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of the guards under general O'Hara, formed the left. The light infantry of the guards, and the yagers, with the cavalry, formed a corps of observation; the artillery was in the centre. The British army, according to the American accounts, amounted to upwards of 2000 men; but earl Cornwallis stated it at only 1500.

The dispositions having been made, the line was ordered to advance; and it moved forward with that steady intrepidity which nothing but discipline can inspire. When the British were at the distance of 140 yards, the American first line began to fire; but, although most advantageously posted, many of them, without even firing their loaded muskets or being fired upon, terrified at the appearance of the enemy, threw down their arms, ran into the woods, and made the best of their way to their respective homes. Few, even of those who remained, gave more than a second discharge; but, on receiving the fire of the British, they fled precipitately, in spite of the efforts of their officers to rally them, and sought refuge behind the second line. The British steadily advanced, but experienced more resistance from the Virginia militia than they had done from those of

North Carolina. The Virginians maintained the conflict till Stevens, perceiving their inability any longer to withstand the shock, ordered a retreat. That officer, though wounded, did not leave the field. The British suffered considerably in their conflict with the American second line; but, nevertheless, they advanced steadily against the continentals under Huger and Williams. The British line was unavoidably a good deal broken by the different degrees of resistance it had experieneed at different points, by impediments arising from the thickness of the woods and the inequalities of the ground, and by being extended to the right and left in order to present a front equal to that of the enemy: the whole, however, moved on, and the second battalion of the guards, under colonel Stuart, first reached the open ground on which the greater part of the continentals were drawn up; and, impatient to signalise themselves, impetuously rushed on the second Maryland regiment, which, instead of firmly meeting the charge, fled in confusion. The guards eagerly pursued them, and took two six-pounders which had been abandoned; but they were arrested in their progress by a destructive fire from the first Maryland regiment, which threw them into some confusion: at that critical moment Washington's cavalry made a furious charge upon them, and were followed by the first Maryland regiment with fixed bayonets. The guards were completely broken, with much slaughter, and the two field-pieces were retaken; but, the British advancing both on the right and left, the Americans in their turn were compelled to retreat, and the two six-pounders were again taken. These two field-pieces had been lost by the British at Saratoga; they were recovered by earl Cornwallis at the battle of Camden, were retaken by Morgan at the Cow-Pens, and, after changing masters several times on the field of Guildford Court-house, ultimately on that day remained in possession of the British. After a hard-fought battle of nearly two hours, the discipline and valour of the royal army prevailed; and general Greene was obliged with reluctance to direct

a retreat, which was performed with regularity and good order.

After the engagement had ceased on the left and centre of the British line, a firing was still heard on the right, where general Leslie commanded: it was occasioned by some riflemen, who, availing themselves of the woody nature of the ground, kept up a distant and irregular discharge. Tarleton was sent to disperse them, which he accomplished, after receiving a slight wound. The 23d and 71st regiments were sent in pursuit; but, when the British general was fully informed of the circumstances of the day, and of the severe loss which he had sustained, he recalled them. General Greene continued his retreat to Reedy Fork, three miles from the field of battle. After passing the stream he drew up his men, and halted for some time to collect the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron-works on Troublesome Creek, ten miles from Guildford Court-house, which was the appointed place of assembling the army in case of discomfiture.

This was one of the severest battles in the course of the war. In every engagement where general Greene commanded, many of the Americans fought obstinately; and, at Guildford Court-house, although the greater part of the North Carolina militia acted in a dastardly manner, yet some of them behaved well. The Virginia militia fought bravely; and Stevens's brigade did not retreat till that officer, who had received a ball in his thigh, seeing his men about to be charged with the bayonet, and sensible that they could not stand such a mode of attack, both from their state of discipline and their want of that weapon, ordered a retreat. A considerable number of the continentals were new levies; and although much inferior to veteran troops, yet in general they displayed a good deal of firmness, and part of the American army manifested much bravery. General Greene lost four field-pieces, which was the whole of his artillery, and two wagons. About 300 of the continentals, and 100 of the Virginia militia, were killed

or wounded. Among the former was major Anderson of the Maryland line, much lamented by his countrymen; among the latter was general Huger, besides general Stevens. Of the North Carolina militia 6 were killed and 3 wounded, and 552 were missing. Of the Virginia militia 294 were missing. Few of the missing were made prisoners; they returned home, and never rejoined the army; so that general Greene sustained a great diminution of numbers.

The very circumstance of the British having driven the enemy from the field is a sufficient proof that every officer and every private did his duty. The Americans were more than twice their number, most advantageously posted, under officers of merit, and many of them fought obstinately. But the discipline and valour of the little army under earl Cornwallis overcame every obstacle; and, after a fierce encounter, drove the enemy from the field. Still the victory was not cheaply purchased; several valuable officers, and more than a third of the troops engaged in the battle fell. According to the official returns, the loss of the British amounted to 532, of whom 93 were killed on the field, 413 were wounded, and 26 were missing. Among the killed were colonel Stuart of the guards, lieutenant O'Hara of the royal artillery, lieutenant Robinson of the 23d regiment, ensign Talbot of the 33d, and ensign Grant of the 71st. Among the wounded were brigadier-generals O'Hara and Howard, lieutenant-colonels Webster and Tarleton, captains Swanton, Schutz, Maynard, Goodricke, lord Dunglass, Maitland, Peter, Wilmusky, and Eichenbrodht; lieutenants Salvin, Wynard, Schwerer, and Graise; ensigns Stuart, Kelly, Gore, Hughes, and Detroit; and adjutants Colquhoun and Fox. Of these officers several died of their wounds, among whom was lieutenant-colonel Webster, equally distinguished for his social virtues and military talents; his death was much regretted by the whole army. Of captain Maynard of the guards it has been said that, on advancing to the attack, he felt a strong presentiment of his approaching fate, and mentioned it

more than once to colonel Norton. who commanded the battalion. Early in the battle he was wounded in the leg, and, being unable to walk, he procured a horse that he might advance with his company; but when in the act of mounting he received a ball in the body, and was unable to proceed: he afterwards died of his wounds at Wilmington. A similar presentiment has been attributed to the celebrated general Desaix on entering the bloody field of Marengo. We, however, know too little of ourselves and of nature around us, to be able to give any satisfactory explanation of such forebodings.

After the battle, the field presented an afflicting spectacle: it was strewed, to a considerable extent, with the dead and wounded. The victors collected the wounded as soon as, in all the circumstances of the case, they were able; but could afford them no adequate assistance, for they were without tents, and there were no houses near to shelter the sufferers. Besides, the troops had marched several miles in the morning, had no provisions for themselves on that day, and consequently could give nothing to their bleeding companions. The succeeding night was extremely dark and wet, and the piercing shrieks of the dying falling on the ear amidst the deep gloom, and under torrents of rain, penetrated every feeling heart with anguish; but, though melting with compassion, they were unable to afford even the shadow of relief. Ere morning death rescued many of the miserable sufferers from their pangs.

Earl Cornwallis had won an honourable victory, but had gained no permanent advantage. His army, which was weak before, was much diminished. He made every possible exertion, and employed all the means at his disposal to the best advantage. He knew that general Greene's army was much more numerous than his own; but the state of the southern provinces compelled him to fight: for a retreat would have been nearly equivalent to discomfiture. After an obstinate conflict, he had dislodged the enemy from an advantageous position, and driven him from the field; but his embarrassments were

not relieved. So far from being able to follow up his victory and pursue the retiring foe, he was obliged to fall back, although the motives which led to the battle of Guildford Court-house were little weakened. The British army was so much diminished, and the difficulty of finding subsistence in that part of the country was so great, that on the third day after the battle he began a retreat, leaving a number of the wounded, who could not properly be removed, at the Quakers' meeting-house, under the protection of a flag of truce. The battle of Guildford Court-house reflects the highest honour on the British general and his troops; but it may be considered as the first step in a series of movements which terminated in the overthrow of the British power in America.

Although hitherto greatly disappointed in his expectations of support from the loyalists, earl Cornwallis, on the day that he began his retrograde movements, issued a proclamation, giving an account of his victory, and calling on all the loyal inhabitants to join his standard, and assist him in restoring order and good government to the country; at the same time promising protection in their persons and property to all who had taken part in the revolt, but who should submit before the 20th of April. The loyalists, however, had already been so often disappointed, and had suffered so much on account of their attachment to the royal government, while the circumstances of the British army were so unpromising, that this proclamation produced little or no effect.

Instead of returning to South Carolina, earl Cornwallis retired to Cross Creek, on a branch of Cape Fear River, where there was a friendly settlement of Scottish highlanders, and afterwards to Wilmington, about 100 miles lower on the same river. Before his departure from Wynnesborough in pursuit of Morgan and Greene, earl Cornwallis had directed colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charlestown, to send a sufficient force by sea, to take possession of Wilmington in North Carolina, situated near the mouth of Cape Fear River. Balfour

intrusted the execution of this enterprise to major Craig, who, about the end of January, entered the place after a slight resistance. He carefully fortified himself, and made his post respectable.

For the conveniency of his sick and wounded, and for procuring subsistence to his army, earl Cornwallis by easy marches proceeded towards Cross Creek, in the hope that there the troops would be plentifully supplied, and the sick and wounded receive that comfortable accommodation and those refreshments of which they stood greatly in need. He arrived at Cross Creek about the beginning of April, where he had to encounter new disappointments. Forage for four days could not be procured within twenty miles; and the communication by water with Wilmington was found impracticable; for the river is narrow, the banks in many places are high, and the inhabitants of a considerable part of the intervening country were extremely hostile. The highlanders, indeed, were still well affected to the mother-country, and readily supplied the army with every refreshment in their power; but past sufferings had rendered them cautious; and although Cross Creek was a central situation, where the friends of the royal cause might easily assemble, yet so discouraging was the movement of the army, that few of the colonists joined the royal standard. In all these circumstances, earl Cornwallis was obliged to proceed towards Wilmington, the vicinity of which place he reached on the 7th of April. There, for a while, we shall leave him, and attend to the operations of general Greene.

CHAP. VII.

GENERAL GREENE FOLLOWS EARL CORNWALLIS. — ARRIVES AT RAMSAY'S MILLS ON DEEP RIVER. — PROCEEDS TO SOUTH CAROLINA. — BATTLE OF HOBKERK'S HILL. — COLONEL WATSON REACHES CAMDEN, WHICH IS EVACUATED. — BRITISH POSTS TAKEN. — LORD RAWDON RETIRES TO MONK'S CORNER. — AUGUSTA TAKEN. — NINETY-SIX BESIEGED. — SIEGE RAISED. — GREENE RETREATS, AND IS PURSUED BY LORD RAWDON. — BOTH ARMIES RETURN TO THE CONGEREE. — GREENE JOINED BY MARION AND SUMPTER. — RETIRES TO HIGH HILLS OF SANTEE. — BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS. — EXECUTION OF COLONEL HAYNES.

When general Greene took his position at the iron-works on Troublesome Creek, after the battle of Guildford Court-house, he expected that earl Cornwallis would follow up his advantage, and attack him without delay. He therefore prepared again to fight. His army, indeed, was much diminished; but he had lost more in numbers than in effective strength. The militia, many of whom had returned home, had shown themselves very inefficient in the field. As soon as he received certain information that, instead of pursuing, earl Cornwallis was retreating, he resolved to follow him, and advanced accordingly. On arriving at the Quakers' meeting-house, he found the wounded British and American officers and soldiers who had been left behind; but he had no means of making any adequate provision for them. In that distressing case, general Greene addressed a letter to the Quakers in the vicinity, in which he told them that he had been brought up in their persuasion, and that now they had an opportunity of exercising their humanity, without distinction of parties, both to the wounded British and Americans, who without their friendly aid must perish. His appeal was not disregarded; for the Quakers immediately furnished the requisite supplies for the hospital.

General Greene, who was now in his turn the pursuer, followed earl Cornwallis so closely, that skirmishes occasionally happened between his advanced parties and the rear-guard of the British army: but no conflict of importance ensued. On the morning of the 28th of March he arrived at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, a strong post, which the British had evacuated a few hours before, crossing the river by a bridge erected for the purpose. There general Greene paused, and meditated on his future movements. His army, like that of the British, for some time past suffered much from heavy rains, deep roads, and scarcity of provisions. On reaching Ramsay's Mills, his men were starving with hunger, and fed voraciously on the garbage left behind by the British army. The troops were much exhausted, and stood in need of repose and refreshment. Besides, in that critical state of the campaign, he found himself reduced to a handful of continentals. Most of the North Carolina militia ran from the field of Guildford Court-house, and did not afterwards join the army. The Virginia militia had been called out for six weeks only; that period was nearly expired, and the place of those who were about to return home was not yet filled up by those who were to succeed them. Small as his army was, he found great difficulty in procuring subsistence for it.

Earl Cornwallis had fairly the start of the Americans, and was advancing to a place where he would find more plentiful supplies, and easily communicate with the sea; so that general Greene was sensible that with the force then under his command he could make no impression on him. He resolved, therefore, instead of following his opponent, to proceed to South Carolina. That step, he thought, would oblige earl Cornwallis either to follow him or to abandon his posts in the upper parts of the southern states. If he followed him, North Carolina would be relieved, and enabled to raise its quota of men for the continental service; but if he remained in that state, or proceeded to the northward, it was likely that the greater part of the British posts in South Carolina

and Georgia would be reduced, and that those states would be restored to the Union. But he entertained little apprehension of earl Cornwallis being able, with the force then under his command, to make any permanent impression on the powerful state of Virginia.

On the departure of the militia, general Greene's army was reduced to the regular troops of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, amounting to about 1700 men, including cavalry and artillery; and the British army, under the immediate command of earl Cornwallis, was still less numerous, not exceeding 1500 men. So small was the force with which Great Britain and the United States of America were eagerly contending for an extensive and valuable tract of country.

Having refreshed his troops, and collected provisions for a few days, general Greene moved from Ramsay's Mills, on Deep River, on the 5th of April, towards Camden; and on the morning of the 20th of the same month encamped at Logtown, in sight of the British works at that place.

Earl Cornwallis had not been without apprehensions of general Greene's proceeding to South Carolina, and had despatched several messengers to lord Rawdon, who commanded at Camden, to prepare him for such an event; but not one of these messengers reached the place of his destination. Soon after his arrival at Wilmington, earl Cornwallis received certain information that general Greene had actually made the apprehended movement; and it threw him into much perplexity. He was alarmed for the safety of lord Rawdon; but, though desirous of assisting him, he was convinced that the Americans were already so far advanced that it was impossible for him to arrive at Camden in time to succour lord Rawdon, if he should need succour. His lordship's fate and that of his garrison would probably be decided long before he could reach them; and if general Greene should be successful at Camden, he, by attempting to relieve it, might be hemmed in between the great rivers, and exposed to the most imminent

hazard. On the other hand, if lord Rawdon should defeat general Greene, there would be no need of his assistance. A movement so perilous in the execution, and promising so little in the result, was abandoned, and lord Rawdon left to his own resources. An uncommonly active campaign was now about to open in South Carolina and Georgia. The importance of the prize, the talents of the generals, the courage and sufferings of the soldiers, and the accumulated miseries of the inhabitants, all contributed to give the struggle for those states a degree of interest seldom felt in military transactions in which such small armies are engaged.

When earl Cornwallis entered North Carolina, the command of South Carolina and Georgia was committed to lord Rawdon; and, for the security of the British power in those provinces, a line of posts was continued from Charlestown, by the way of Camden and Ninety Six, to Augusta in Georgia. Camden was the most important point in the line, and there lord Rawdon had taken post, with a garrison of about 900 men. On the day before he left Ramsay's Mills, general Greene sent colonel Lee with his legion to join general Marion, and surprise an intermediate post, which, like other stations of the kind, was but slightly fortified, and garrisoned by a few regulars, and such of the militia of the country as attached themselves to the British interest.

General Marion on the north-east, and general Sumpter on the south-west parts of South Carolina, each at the head of a small party of mounted followers, had maintained a bold but ineffectual warfare; and from their feeble and desultory efforts no serious apprehensions were entertained: but after the arrival of general Greene in South Carolina, they proved useful auxiliaries and troublesome enemies.

Lee joined Marion; and, on the 15th of April, they unexpectedly presented themselves before Fort Watson, a British post on the Santee. It was an Indian mound, rising 30 or 40 feet above the level of the plain. Nei-

ther the garrison nor the assailants had artillery; but in a few days the Americans constructed a work on an unusual plan, which overlooked the fort, and from the top of which the riflemen fired with such unerring aim that not a man of the garrison could show himself without certain destruction. On the 23d, the garrison, consisting of 114 men, capitulated.

General Greene hoped to arrive at Camden before lord Rawdon got notice of his march; but the inhabitants of the territories through which he passed were disaffected to the revolutionary cause; and he was obliged to forage with the same precautions as if he had been in an enemy's country; consequently his progress was slower than he had expected: lord Rawdon had received early information of his advance, and was ready to receive him when he appeared before Camden on the 20th of April.

Camden was a village situated on a plain, covered on the south by the Wateree, a river which higher up is called the Catawba; and below, after its confluence with the Congaree from the south, assumes the name of the Santee. On the east of it flowed a rivulet called Pine-tree Creek; on the north and west sides it was defended by a strong chain of redoubts, six in number, extending from the river to the creek. General Greene, whose force at that time amounted only to about 1200 men, felt himself unable either to storm or completely to invest the place. He encamped before it to wait for the arrival of the militia whom he expected, and to be in readiness to improve any favourable opportunity that might occur; but he had not been long in that position when he was informed that colonel Watson was marching up the Santee to join lord Rawdon. General Greene was sensible that, if that reinforcement arrived safely in Camden, he would be unable to maintain his ground before the place. He resolved to intercept Watson; which could be accomplished only by movements too rapid for the presence of baggage and artillery. In order to rid himself of these incumbrances, he sent them

under the care of colonel Carrington and some North Carolina militia to Lynch's Creek, nearly 20 miles north from Camden, and moved his camp to the east of that place on the road to Charlestown. But Watson, having been interrupted by Marion and Lee, did not arrive so soon as was expected; and Greene found it difficult to procure provisions for his men in his new position. On the 24th he sent an order to colonel Carrington to join him with the baggage and artillery at Hobkerk's Hill, an eminence rather more than a mile north from Camden on the road to the Waxhaws. On the same day he marched his army to that place; where the left of his encampment was covered by a swamp, and the hill, as well as the ground between it and Camden, abounded with trees and underwood.

At that time a drummer deserted from general Greene, and informed lord Rawdon of the absence of his militia, artillery, and baggage. That officer, in the true spirit of military enterprise, immediately resolved to seize the favourable opportunity, and to attack the American general while destitute of artillery, and unsupported by the militia, or by Marion and Lee. Accordingly, on the morning of the 25th, at the head of about 900 men, he marched from Camden to attack general Greene's camp; and, by making a circuit, and keeping close to the edge of the swamp, under cover of the woods, he gained the left flank of the Americans, where the hill was most accessible, undiscovered. While the Americans were cooking their provisions, and general Greene at breakfast, the alarm was given by the outposts firing on the British van. At that critical moment the militia and the cannon arrived, and general Greene soon had his army in order of battle. The Virginia brigade, under general Huger, was on the right; the Maryland brigade, under colonel Williams, was on the left; and the artillery in the centre. The North Carolina militia, under colonel Reade, formed a second line; captain Kirkwood, with the light infantry, was placed in front, to support the advanced parties, and to retard the progress of the

British troops. So confident was general Greene of victory that he ordered lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, to turn the right flank of the British, and to charge them in the rear.

Meanwhile the American advanced parties and Kirkwood's infantry, after a brisk fire, were driven in; and lord Rawdon advanced steadily to attack the main body of the American army. The 63d regiment, supported by the volunteers of Ireland, formed his right; the king's American regiment, supported by captain Robertson's corps, composed his left; the New York volunteers were in the centre. The North Carolina volunteers and cavalry were in the rear, and formed a reserve.

After viewing the British army, and observing the narrow front which it presented, general Greene, sanguine in his hopes of success, ordered the second Maryland regiment to attack its right flank, a part of the Virginia troops to assail its left, and the rest of the Virginia and Maryland continentals to march down the hill and oppose it in front. Thus the British army was to be assailed in front, on both flanks, and in the rear.

Lord Rawdon, perceiving general Greene's intention, quickly extended his front, by bringing the Irish volunteers forward into the line. The firing became very close, and though the American column which descended the hill was supported by a destructive discharge of grape-shot from the artillery, yet such was the impetuosity of the British troops that part of the continentals was soon broken, and fell back in confusion. Their officers were unable to rally them. The British gained the summit of the hill; and general Greene, surprised and mortified at the sudden and unexpected reverse, and apprehensive of the utter discomfiture and ruin of his army, ordered such of his continentals as were still unbroken, and his militia, who had not been engaged, to retreat. Washington, who had gained the rear of the British army, and made a number of prisoners, seeing the infantry driven from the field, paroled some wounded officers and retired, carrying with him about fifty prisoners, among whom were the royal surgeons.

In the confusion the American cannon were run down the hill, and concealed from the British among some bushes; but, in his retreat, Washington observed and drew them off. The pursuit was continued nearly three miles, but was ultimately checked by a furious charge made by Washington, with a body of cavalry decidedly superior to that of the British. The retreat from the field was conducted in good order; and the Americans carried off all their baggage, artillery, and some prisoners. They halted for the night at Saunder's Creek, four miles from Hobkerk's Hill; and next day proceeded to Rugely's Mills, twelve miles from Camden. After the engagement the British returned to Camden.

Hobkerk's Hill was a hard-fought battle; and, considering the numbers engaged, each party suffered considerable loss. The Americans had nearly 300 men killed, wounded, or missing; and among them were some valuable officers. In killed, wounded, and missing, the loss of the British amounted to 258, out of about 900 who were on the field. The continentals, under general Greene, were more numerous than lord Rawdon's army; but the bravery and discipline of the British troops gained the battle.

The victory of Hobkerk's Hill, like that of Guildford Court-house, though highly honourable to the general and troops who won it, was of no permanent advantage to the cause which it was intended to support. For lord Rawdon was in no condition to follow up the advantage which he had gained: general Greene retreated no farther than Rugely's Mills; and the presence of his army, together with the activity and courage of his followers, fomented the spirit of disaffection to the British authority which had manifested itself in many parts of the southern provinces, and kept lord Rawdon in a very uneasy and critical situation. Knowing that the British troops could not long remain in Camden without receiving fresh supplies from Charlestown or the country, general Greene sent a reinforcement to Marion on the road to Nelson's Ferry; and on the 3d of May he

passed the Wateree with the remainder of his army, and from time to time took such positions as would most effectually prevent the garrison of Camden from receiving any supplies.

Colonel Watson, as has been already mentioned, was marching with upwards of 400 men to reinforce lord Rawdon. Marion and Lee having obtained information of his route, resolved to obstruct his progress, and took post so judiciously at the Fords, that Watson was obliged to alter his course. He marched down the north side of the Santee, crossed it near its mouth, with incredible labour advanced up its southern bank, recrossed it above the encampment of Marion and Lee, but a little below the confluence of its two great branches the Congaree and Wateree, and arrived safely at Camden with his detachment on the 7th of May.

This reinforcement gave lord Rawdon a decided superiority, and he resolved instantly to avail himself of it. Accordingly, next night he marched against general Greene, with the intention of attacking him in his camp: but that officer, apprised of the reinforcement, and aware that it would immediately be employed against him, left the ground which he had lately occupied, passed the Wateree, retired to a greater distance from Camden, and took a strong position behind Saunder's Creek. Lord Rawdon followed him, and drove in his outposts; but, after attentively viewing his camp at all points, he was convinced that it could not be forced without a loss which he was in no condition to sustain; therefore he returned to Camden.

Lord Rawdon's situation had now become extremely critical. Marion and Lee were exerting themselves with much activity and success against the chain of British posts, and the communications were every day becoming more difficult. It was necessary to diminish the number of posts, and to confine them within a narrower range. Accordingly, on the 10th of May, the British general burned the gaol, mills, some private houses, part of his own stores, evacuated Camden, and retired, by

Nelson's Ferry, to the south of Santee, leaving behind him about thirty of his own sick and wounded, and as many Americans who had fallen into his hands in the battle of Hobkerk's Hill.

Lord Rawdon had maintained his post with great bravery, and he discovered equal prudence in the evacuation of it; for, by the fall of Fort Watson, the communication with Charlestown was interrupted, and the persevering activity of general Greene prevented the arrival of supplies from the country: therefore he wisely retreated while retreat was in his power. He offered all the assistance he was able to the loyalists who chose to accompany him; but it was a bitter alternative, to abandon their houses and property, or to meet the vengeance of their exasperated countrymen. Several families, dreading the fury of their adversaries, went along with him, but were afterwards cruelly neglected.

After the evacuation of Camden, several of the British posts fell in rapid succession. On the 11th the garrison of Orangeburgh, consisting of seventy militia and twelve regulars, yielded to Sumpter. Marion and Lee, after taking Fort Watson, crossed the Santee and marched against Fort Motte, situated on the south side of the Congaree, a little above its confluence with the Wateree: they invested it on the 8th of May, and carried on their approaches so vigorously, that, after a brave defence, the garrison, consisting of sixty-five men, capitulated on the 12th. Georgetown, a post on the Black River, was reduced by a detachment of Marion's corps; and, on the 15th, Fort Grandby, a post at Friday's Ferry, on the south side of the Congaree, thirty miles above Fort Motte, garrisoned by 350 men, chiefly militia, surrendered to Lee. Such was the exasperation of parties, that Lee's militia wished to violate the capitulation, and to put to death such of their countrymen as were found in the place. In order to check this vindictive spirit, general Greene found it necessary to declare that he would capitally punish any such irregularity.

The presence of general Greene's army, the activity

and success of his adherents, and the retreat of lord Rawdon, made the smothered disaffection of the inhabitants burst into a flame; and the greater part of the province openly revolted from the British authority. In that critical emergency, lord Rawdon retreated to Monk's Corner, a position which enabled him to cover those districts from which Charlestown drew its more immediate supplies, where he was secure from disaster, and ready to seize and improve any favourable occurrence. General Greene, having succeeded in reducing so many of the British posts, and in forcing lord Rawdon to retire to Monk's Corner, instead of following his lordship, turned his attention towards the western parts of the province, and to the upper posts in Georgia. He ordered colonel Pickens to assemble the militia of Ninety Six; and, on the day after the surrender of Fort Grandby, sent Lee to join him.

On the reduction of Georgia and South Carolina by the British in 1780, many of the most determined friends of congress in the upper parts of those states retreated across the mountains or fled into North Carolina; but the greater number, despairing of the popular cause, submitted to the conquerors, flattering themselves with the hope of being allowed to live in peace and in the secure enjoyment of their property. But when these men, accustomed to live on their lands in a state of rude independence, found themselves treated with overbearing insolence, plundered with unsparing rapacity, and compelled to take up arms against their countrymen, all their former predilections returned, and a spirit of bitter hostility to the royal authority was engendered.

When the British army, leaving only feeble garrisons behind, marched to the northward in the career of victory and conquest, this spirit soon manifested itself. Colonel Clarke, a refugee from Georgia, as already mentioned, took advantage of the absence of the British army, and with some adherents marched against the British garrison at Augusta. But lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who commanded at Ninety Six, proceeded to the

relief of colonel Brown, the commandant of Augusta. Clarke was obliged to flee, and that premature insurrection was suppressed. Such of Clarke's adherents as fell into the hands of colonel Brown were treated with the utmost rigour. But the spirit of opposition to the royal authority, though damped, was not extinguished: armed parties, commonly acting without any concert, daily multiplied, and disturbed the peace of the British garrisons. Captain M'Koy, with a few daring adventurers, infested the banks of the Savannah, and took some boats going up the river with supplies to Augusta: he defeated a party sent against him by colonel Brown; but, though joined by colonel Harden and his band, he was afterwards defeated by Brown, and his followers for a while dispersed.

These desultory encounters were now succeeded by more regular and steady operations. Colonel Clarke, with indefatigable zeal, had again returned to his native province; and a number of militia, under general Pickens, assembled in the vicinity of Augusta. On the fall of Fort Grandby, colonel Lee without delay marched towards Pickens's camp; and in four days effected a junction with him. Their first attempt was against Fort Golphin or Dreadnought, at Silver Bluff, on the Carolina side of the river Savannah, which was garrisoned by seventy men: on the 1st of May it surrendered to a detachment of Lee's legion under captain Rudolph.

Pickens and Lee now turned their united arms against Fort Cornwallis at Augusta: they carried on their approaches against the place with skill and activity; but colonel Brown made a most obstinate defence. In the course of the siege several batteries were raised which overlooked the fort, and two of them were within thirty yards of the parapet; from these the American riflemen fired with such deadly aim, that every man who showed himself was instantly shot. The garrison almost buried themselves under ground; but their steady valour was unavailing, and on the 5th of June they, to the number of 300 men, surrendered by capitulation. The Ame-

ricans had about forty men killed or wounded in the course of the siege.

The British officers at Augusta, by their severities, had rendered themselves singularly obnoxious to the inhabitants of the surrounding country; and, after the surrender, lieutenant-colonel Grierson was shot dead by an unknown marksman, who escaped detection, although 100 guineas of reward were offered for the discovery of the murderer. It was with difficulty that colonel Brown was saved from a similar fate: he had lately hanged thirteen American prisoners, and delivered up some to the Indians, who put them to death with all those tortures which Indian ingenuity has devised, and which savage ferocity only can inflict. To save him from the vengeance of the enraged colonists, his conquerors escorted him safely to Savannah. At Silver Bluff, Mrs. M'Koy obtained permission to speak with him, and addressed him in the following manner: — "Colonel Brown, in the late day of your prosperity I visited your camp, and on my knees begged the life of my son; but you were deaf to my supplications. You hanged him, though only a beardless youth, before my face. These eyes have seen him scalped by the savages under your immediate command, and for no better reason than because his name was M'Koy. As you are now a prisoner to the leaders of my country, for the present I lay aside all thoughts of revenge; but when you resume your sword, I will go 500 miles to demand satisfaction at the point of it for the murder of my son." If Brown was a man of any sensibility, he must have felt acutely at this singular insult.

While those operations were going on in Georgia, general Greene with his main army marched against the British post at Ninety Six in South Carolina. Ninety Six, (so named because it is ninety-six miles from the town of Kecowee in the territory of the Cherokees,) at the time when it came into the possession of the British troops in 1780, like other villages on the frontiers of the colonies, was surrounded by a palisade to defend it

against any sudden irruption of the Indians. But the British garrison had added some new works, the most important of which was on the right of the village, and, from its form, was called the Star. It consisted of sixteen salient and re-entering angles, with a dry ditch and abatis. On the left of the place was a valley through which flowed a rivulet that supplied the village with water; on the one side the valley was commanded by the prison, which was converted into a block-house, and on the other by a stockade fort in which a block-house had been erected. The garrison consisted of 550 men, 350 of whom were regulars, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cruger. There were only three pieces of artillery in the place.

When lord Rawdon found himself under the necessity of evacuating Camden and of retiring to Monk's Corner, he was fully sensible of the danger to which the post of Ninety Six was exposed. He sent several messengers with instructions to colonel Cruger to abandon the post, retire to Augusta, unite his force to that of colonel Brown, and afterwards act according to his own discretion. Lest his messengers should be intercepted, he desired colonel Balfour, commandant of Charlestown, to transmit similar instructions. But the disaffection of the province to the British interest had now become so strong, and the roads leading to Ninety Six were so effectually guarded, that not one of those messengers reached that place: hence colonel Cruger remained without instructions, and in complete ignorance of the state of the British army in the province. His being left in ignorance he felt as an ominous circumstance: he was well aware of the hostility of the people, and not without apprehensions of a visit from the American army. In these circumstances he made every preparation for defending his post with vigour: officers and men diligently laboured on the works, and by their united exertions a bank of earth, parapet high, was thrown up round the town, and strengthened by an abatis; block-houses were erected, traverses made, covered communications con-

structed, and the garrison prepared for a vigorous defence.

On the 22d of May, after the works were finished; the American army under general Greene, consisting of nearly 1000 men, appeared, and encamped in a wood within cannon-shot of the place. In the course of the ensuing night general Greene erected two works within seventy paces of the fortifications; but about eleven next forenoon a party, supported by a brisk cannonade from the three pieces of artillery which had been mounted on the Star, and by a close discharge of musketry from the parapet, sallied out, killed such of the Americans as fell in their way, demolished their works, and carried off their intrenching tools. General Greene put his army in motion to support his men in the trenches; but so expeditiously was the enterprise performed, that the sallying party returned within the works with little loss.

On the night of the 23d, general Greene again broke ground, but at the more cautious distance of 400 yards. Though interrupted by frequent sallies, yet the Americans laboured so indefatigably that their second parallel was finished by the 3d of June. On that day they summoned the garrison; but, on being answered that lieutenant-colonel Cruger would defend his post to the last extremity, they carried on their approaches with unabated vigour. The batteries of the second parallel were opened, and a heavy cross-fire enfiladed several of the works. They pushed on a sap against the Star; and advanced their batteries, one of which, constructed of gabions, was erected within thirty-five yards of the abatis, and raised forty feet high, so as to overlook the works of the garrison. Riflemen, posted on the top of it, did considerable execution; and their fire proved so destructive to the men who worked the artillery on the Star, that the guns were abandoned during the day, and used only in the night.

Augusta, as already mentioned, capitulated on the 5th of June; and while colonel Brown was sent off under an escort to Savannah, colonel Lee, with the rest of his

prisoners, about 300 in number, proceeded to join general Greene at Ninety Six. He arrived there on the 8th of June; and, in the hope of making some impression on the garrison by the appearance of the prisoners, marched them in full view of the British works in all the parade of military triumph. Strengthened by this reinforcement, general Greene, who hitherto had carried on his approaches against the Star solely, commenced operations, under the direction of colonel Lee, against the works on the left of the town also, which commanded the water. The approaches were made with vigour, and the defence conducted with skill and persevering valour. But the siege was carried on in such a manner, that every effort of the besieged must soon have been overpowered, and the brave garrison compelled to surrender. From this mortification they were saved by the approach of lord Rawdon. The smallness of the force under his command, and the disaffection of the province, had compelled him for some time to remain near Charlestown for the security of that important post; but on the 3d of June he received a seasonable reinforcement from Britain, consisting of the 3d, 19th, and 30th regiments, a detachment from the guards, and a considerable number of recruits, the whole under the command of lieutenant-colonel Gould. This accession to his strength enabled him once more to overrun the province.

On the 7th of June, lord Rawdon left Charlestown with part of the reinforcements, and, being joined by the troops at Monk's Corner, marched to the relief of Ninety Six at the head of about 2000 men. In their rapid progress over the whole extent of South Carolina, through a wild country, and under the beams of a scorching sun, the sufferings of his troops were severe; but they advanced with celerity to the assistance of their brave companions in arms. On the 11th of June, general Greene received notice of lord Rawdon's march, and immediately sent orders to Sumpter to assemble his militia, keep in front of the British army, and make every effort to retard its progress. To enable him the more effect-

ually to accomplish this purpose, all the cavalry were detached to his assistance. But lord Rawdon passed Sumpter a little below the junction of the Saluda and Broad Rivers, and that officer was never able to regain his front.

Meanwhile the siege was vigorously pressed, in order to force a capitulation before the arrival of lord Rawdon: but the courage and obstinacy of the garrison were equal to the activity of the assailants. Sallies were occasionally made, and every attack was met with intrepidity. The garrison was hard pressed; and towards the close of the siege afflicted by want of water; for every person who, during the day, ventured to approach the rivulet, was instantly shot; and the only resource in order to procure a scanty supply was to send naked negroes to the stream during the night, when their bodies could not be distinguished from the trees around them.

On the side of the Star, the besiegers had formed their third parallel, and carried a mine and two trenches within a few feet of the ditch. Having no heavy cannon, they mounted their field-pieces on batteries which overlooked the fort at the distance of only 140 yards; and riflemen were stationed on an elevated place for the protection of the workmen, so that not a man could show himself on the works with impunity. The garrison was nearly reduced to extremities, and in a few days must have been under the necessity of surrendering. But general Greene knew that lord Rawdon was fast approaching with a superior force, and that, unless he succeeded against the place, he must soon retreat. Unwilling to abandon a prize almost within his grasp, he, on the 18th of June, made a furious assault on the place, and was supported by a heavy cannonade from the batteries, and a close discharge of musketry from the lines. On the left of the village the assailants were successful, and made a lodgement in the works; but on the right, after a desperate conflict of nearly an hour, general Greene found it necessary to call off his men, who retreated before a fierce sally of the besieged. He now

sent off his heavy baggage, and next day retreated. On the 20th he crossed the Saluda, and encamped on Little River. During the siege he lost 155 men: the garrison had eighty-five killed or wounded.

On the morning of the 21st, lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety Six, and in the evening of the same day set out in pursuit of general Greene; but his indefatigable adversary, having sent off his sick and wounded, retreated before him on the road to Charlotte in Virginia, dismantling the corn-mills by the way, in order to render the subsistence of his pursuers more difficult. Lord Rawdon advanced to the Enoree, when, despairing of overtaking the Americans, he returned to Ninety Six. General Greene's retreat ceased with the pursuit. Lord Rawdon found it necessary to evacuate Ninety Six, and contract his posts; and as the loyal inhabitants of that district durst not await the vengeance of their enraged countrymen, he left more than half his force under lieutenant-colonel Cruger, to escort them on their removal; and, after remaining only two days at Ninety Six, began his march to the Congaree, with 800 infantry and 600 cavalry, expecting to be there joined by a strong reinforcement, which had been ordered from Charlestown. That reinforcement had not set out so early as was intended, and the letter informing lord Rawdon of the delay had been intercepted.

The British commander probably believed that general Greene was driven out of South Carolina; but that officer had only retreated behind Broad River; and no sooner did he hear of the division of the British forces, than he returned towards the Congaree. Soon after lord Rawdon's arrival on the last named river, one of his foraging parties was surprised by Lee's legion within a mile of the British camp, and about forty cavalry made prisoners. The appearance of the American light troops in that part of the country convinced his lordship that general Greene was not far off. He retreated towards Orangeburgh, where he arrived in safety after some interruption from the American light troops, and where he was joined

by the expected reinforcements from Charlestown, under lieutenant-colonel Stuart. That reinforcement Marion endeavoured to interrupt, but failed in his main purpose, and gained only a few waggons.

On the Congeree general Greene was joined by Marion and Sumpter with 1000 men; and on the 11th of July marched towards Orangeburgh, with the intention of attacking the British army in its camp: but on arriving there next day, found it so strongly posted that he did not venture to make any attempt on it. While there, general Greene was informed that Ninety Six was evacuated, and that lieutenant-colonel Cruger was on his march to Orangeburgh; but the river, which for thirty miles was passable at no point except that commanded by lord Rawdon's position, presented an insuperable barrier to any attempt on Cruger. General Greene therefore retreated over the Congeree, and marched to the high hills of Santee. In order, however, to alarm lord Rawdon for his lower posts, he, on the 13th, when leaving the vicinity of Orangeburgh, detached Sumpter, Marion, and Lee towards Monk's Corner and Dorchester. Those officers proceeded by different routes, took a number of waggons with provisions and baggage, and some prisoners; but, after hard fighting, the main body of the British effected their retreat.

The weather now became extremely warm; and in that climate the intense heat of summer as effectually stops military operations as the rigour of winter in higher latitudes. In that interval of inaction, lord Rawdon availed himself of leave of absence, obtained some time before on account of ill health, and embarked for Europe. On his departure, the command of the troops at Orangeburgh devolved on lieutenant-colonel Stuart.

General Greene reached the high hills of Santee on the 16th of July, and remained there till the 22d of August. For six months his army had been incessantly employed in marching and fighting; and though he had gained no victory, had been beaten in two battles, and repulsed with slaughter from one siege, yet he had not

only kept the field, but had compelled the British to abandon all their posts in the interior parts of the country. The activity, prudence, courage, and perseverance of general Greene had been of incalculable value to the cause in which he was engaged.

After the retreat of general Greene, colonel Stuart proceeded with the British army to the Congaree, and encamped near its confluence with the Wateree. General Greene, while reposing on the high hills of Santee, was reinforced by a brigade of continental troops from North Carolina, so that his army amounted to 2500 men. He was still eagerly intent on his purpose of wresting the southern provinces from the hands of the British; and accordingly, on the 22d of August, as soon as the intense heat began to abate, he left the hills of Santee, and proceeded towards colonel Stuart's encampment. In a straight line, the two armies were only fifteen miles from each other; but two large rivers intervened, which could not be easily passed without a circuit of seventy miles. Colonel Stuart felt himself in much security, and his parties spread widely over the country in order to collect provisions. Marion and Washington were detached to check them, and several smart skirmishes ensued.

On leaving the high hills of Santee, general Greene marched up the Wateree to the vicinity of Camden, where he crossed the river, and proceeded to Friday's Ferry on the Congaree, where he was joined by general Pickens and his militia, and the state troops of South Carolina, commanded by colonel Henderson. On the approach of the American army, colonel Stuart retired about forty miles, and took a position at Eutaw Springs, sixty miles north from Charlestown, where he was reinforced by a detachment which had escorted a convoy of provisions to that place. General Greene followed him, by easy marches, in order to give Marion time to join him. On the 7th of September, about seven miles from Eutaw Springs, that officer, with his detachment, arrived in camp; and it was resolved to attack the British army next day.

At four in the morning of the 8th of September, the American army advanced towards the British encampment in the following order:—the South and North Carolina militia, commanded by generals Pickens and Marion, formed the first line; the second was composed of the continental troops; the North Carolina brigade, under general Sumner, was on the right; that of Virginia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, was in the centre; and that of Maryland, under colonel Williams, was on the left. The legion of Lee covered the right flank; and the state troops of South Carolina, under colonel Henderson, covered the left; Washington's cavalry and Kirkwood's infantry formed the reserve. Two three-pounders were attached to the first line and two six-pounders to the second. The legion and state troops marched in front, with orders to fall back on the flanks when the British line was formed.

At six in the morning, two deserters from the American army entered the British camp, and informed colonel Stuart of general Greene's approach; but little credit was given to their report. At that time a British party was out in quest of vegetables, on the road by which the Americans were advancing. About four miles from the camp at Eutaw, that party was attacked by the American van, and driven in with loss. Their return convinced colonel Stuart of the approach of the enemy, and the British army was soon drawn up obliquely across the road on the height near the Eutaw Springs. Major Marjoribanks, with the flank battalion, was on the right of the road, his right being covered by a rivulet, while his left was covered by a high thick hedge. Two pieces of artillery, supported by a party of infantry, occupied the road; the rest of the British line extended in an oblique direction on the left of the road.

The firing began between two and three miles from the British camp. The British light parties were driven in on their main body; and the first line of the Americans attacked with great impetuosity. The mi-

litia displayed an unusual degree of firmness, but were obliged slowly to give way. The North Carolina troops advanced to support them; but, although they behaved with much intrepidity, they could make no impression on the British line. Colonels Williams and Campbell were ordered to charge with the bayonet; and part of the British troops, consisting of new levies, unable to withstand the shock, gave way and fled; but the veterans, who had been inured to hard service, met the advancing bayonet with the same weapon. For a short time the conflicting ranks were intermingled, and the officers fought hand to hand. At that critical moment, Lee, who had turned the left flank of the British, charged them in the rear. They were broken and driven off the field, and their artillery fell into the hands of the Americans, who eagerly pressed on their retreating adversaries.

At that interesting juncture, the British commander ordered major Sheridan, with a detachment, to take post in a large three-story brick house, which was in the rear of the army on the right, while another occupied an adjoining palisaded garden, and some close shrubbery ground. The Americans made the most desperate efforts to dislodge them from their posts; but every attack was met with determined courage. Four pieces of artillery were brought to bear on the house, but made no impression on its solid walls. A close and destructive fire was kept up from the doors and windows of the house, as well as from the strong adjoining ground. Almost all the artillerymen were killed or wounded; and the cannon had been pushed so near the house that they could not be brought off, but were left behind. Colonel Washington attempted to turn the right flank of the British, and charge them in the rear; but his horse was shot under him, and he was wounded and made prisoner. After every attempt to dislodge the British from their strong position had failed, general Greene drew off his men; and, collecting his wounded, retired with his prisoners to the ground which

he had left in the morning, there being no water nearer to refresh his fainting troops.

This obstinate and sanguinary conflict lasted almost four hours. We may estimate each of the armies at between 2000 and 3000 men; and, in proportion to the number of combatants, the loss on both sides was great. The Americans lost 555 in killed, wounded, and missing, of whom 137 were left dead on the field: 60 commissioned officers were among the sufferers, of whom 17 were killed on the spot, and 4 mortally wounded. Among the slain was lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of Virginia, whose death was particularly regretted. The British lost 693 men: of whom 85 were killed, 351 wounded, and 257 missing; 3 commissioned officers were killed, 16 wounded, and 10 missing.

Each party, as usual, magnified the loss of the enemy, and wished to conceal its own. Each claimed the victory: the Americans, because they had driven the British from their first position; and the British, with more justice, because the Americans had been obliged to retire from the field. In the early part of the battle, general Greene had decidedly the advantage; but the British commander ultimately kept his ground, and compelled the enemy to withdraw.

In this, as in general Greene's other battles in the Carolinas, the Americans were obliged to abandon the field; but the consequences were in their favour. The British kept their ground on the night after the battle; but next afternoon destroyed part of their stores, and began to retreat towards Monk's Corner, leaving about seventy of their wounded at Eutaw, who afterwards fell into the hands of the Americans. About fourteen miles from the field of battle, colonel Stuart was met by a reinforcement under major M'Arthur marching from Charlestown to his assistance. Thus strengthened, he proceeded to Monk's Corner.

General Greene marched to his former encampment on the high hills of Santee. Both parties had suffered so much at the battle of Eutaw Springs, that neither

was in a condition to undertake offensive operations: indeed, the battle of Eutaw was the last engagement of importance in the southern provinces. A number of rencounters happened; but none of them were of much consequence. The British soon retreated to the quarter-house on Charlestown Neck, and confined their operations to the defence of the posts in that vicinity. The interior of the country which had lately been under their dominion was abandoned, and their chief aim was the security of Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. In the southern provinces the campaign of 1781 was uncommonly active. The exertions and sufferings of the army were great: but the troops were not the only sufferers; the inhabitants were exposed to many calamities. The success of colonel Campbell at Savannah laid Georgia and the Carolinas open to all the horrors which attend the movements of conflicting armies, and the rage of civil dissensions, for two years.

In those provinces the inhabitants were nearly divided between the British and American interests, and, under the names of *Tories* and *Whigs*, exercised a savage hostility against each other, threatening the entire depopulation of the country. Besides, each of the contending armies, claiming the provinces as its own, showed no mercy to those who, in the fluctuations of war, abandoned its cause or opposed its pretensions. In the vicinity of Camden, general Greene in one day hanged eight prisoners as deserters from the American army: and the British officers commanding in South Carolina were by no means slow in similar acts of sanguinary vengeance. Numbers were put to death as deserters and traitors at the different British posts. One of those executions, that of colonel Haynes, happened at Charlestown, on the 4th of August, while lord Rawdon was in that town preparing to sail for Europe, and threatened to produce the most sanguinary consequences.

Colonel Haynes had served in the American militia during the siege of Charlestown; but after the capitu-

lation of that place, and the expulsion of the American a my from the province, he was, by several concurring circumstances, constrained, with much reluctance, to subscribe a declaration of allegiance to the British government, being assured that his services against his country would not be required. He was allowed to return to his family; but, in violation of the special condition on which he had signed the declaration, he was soon called on to take up arms against his countrymen, and was at length threatened with close confinement in case of further refusal. Colonel Haynes considered this breach of contract on the part of the British, and their inability to afford him the protection promised in reward of his allegiance, as absolving him from the obligations into which he had entered; and accordingly he returned to the American standard. In the month of July he was taken prisoner, confined in a loathsome dungeon, and, by the arbitrary mandate of lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour, without trial, hanged at Charlestown. He behaved with much firmness and dignity, and his fate awakened a strong sensation.

General Greene, with his army, was then at the high hills of Santee; and, as a considerable part of the province was wrested from the hands of the British, he was extremely indignant on the occasion, and demanded of the royal commanders their reasons for this execution. He received a letter from colonel Balfour, acknowledging that it was the result of a joint order from lord Rawdon and himself, but in obedience to the most express directions of lord Cornwallis to put to death those who should be found in arms after having been, at their own request, received as subjects since the capitulation of Charlestown and the clear conquest of the province in 1780. The irritation in general Greene's army on the occasion was great; and the officers petitioned him to retaliate the execution of colonel Haynes. Accordingly, general Greene soon afterwards issued a proclamation, threatening to make British officers the objects of retaliatory vengeance.

By the execution of colonel Haynes the British gained no advantage whatever. It excited a lively sympathy for the sufferer, and indignation against his enemies. If meant as a retaliation for the execution of major André, it was without dignity, and less justifiable even than the death of that accomplished young officer. Its justice was questionable; and it received no countenance from sound policy. It seems to have proceeded rather from the petty irritation of disappointed ambition, than from the cool dictates of enlightened justice or political wisdom.

In the end of November, general Greene with a detachment of his army suddenly appeared before the British post at Dorchester; and, after some skirmishing, the British garrison retired to the vicinity of Charlestown. General Greene posted his troops on both sides of the river Ashley; completely covered the country from the Cooper to the Edisto; and confined the British to Charlestown Neck and the neighbouring islands. In Georgia, the British force was concentrated at Savannah. Thus, in the course of the campaign, all the interior parts of those provinces were wrested from the British government, and restored to the American Union. In that service general Greene was greatly assisted by a small, but active, indefatigable, and daring body of cavalry.

During this campaign, an expedition was conducted by general Pickens against the Cherokees, who had been instigated to take up the hatchet against the Americans. The savages were vanquished, and compelled to sue for peace.

CHAP. VIII.

REVIEW OF THE GENERAL CONDITION OF AMERICA AT THE BEGINNING OF 1781. — MUTINY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA AND JERSEY TROOPS. — CONGRESS. — INTERPOSE ARMIES ON THE HUDSON. — BRITISH AND FRENCH FLEETS MEET OFF THE CHESAPEAKE. — CHESAPEAKE BAY. — VIRGINIA INVADED BY GENERAL LESLIE. — ARNOLD. — PHILIPS. — BARON STEUBEN UNABLE TO RESIST THE INVADERS. — DE LA FAYETTE TAKES THE COMMAND IN VIRGINIA. — DEATH OF GENERAL PHILIPS.

HAVING brought the active campaign of 1781 in the southern states to a close, we shall now return to the northward, glance at the general condition of American affairs in the early part of the year, and then attend to the military operations on the Hudson and in Virginia.

In the beginning of the year, the affairs of the American Union wore a gloomy and alarming aspect. Vigorous and united efforts were needful; but all seemed feeble and irresolute. The people were heartily tired of the war; and though no better affected to the parent state than before, yet they earnestly desired deliverance from the multiplied miseries of the protracted struggle. At first they rushed impetuously into the contest; but their early ardour had long since begun to cool. Mankind are little disposed to make great and long-continued sacrifices in any cause: selfish views, though disregarded in the heat of passion, begin to resume their sway, and to influence the conduct. Accordingly, every province, intent merely on local and temporary interests, seemed afraid of doing too much in the common cause, and of bearing an undue share of the general burden.

Congress had called for an army of 37,000 men, to be in camp on the 1st of January. The resolution, as usual, was too late; but, even although it had been promulgated in due time, it is not likely that so large a force could have been brought into the field. The deficiencies and delays on the part of the several states

exceeded all reasonable anticipation. At no time during this active and interesting campaign did the regular force, drawn from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, amount to 3000 men. So late as the month of April, the states from New Jersey to New Hampshire inclusive had furnished only 5000 infantry: but this force was slowly and gradually increased; till, in the month of May, including cavalry and artillery, which never exceeded 1000 men, it presented a total of about 7000, of whom upwards of 4000 might have been relied on in active service. A considerable part of this small force arrived in camp too late to acquire, during the campaign, that discipline which is essential to military success. Inadequate as this army was for asserting the independence of the country, the prospect of being unable to support it was still more alarming. The men were in rags: clothing had long been expected from Europe, but had not yet arrived, and the disappointment was severely felt.

The magazines were ill supplied; the troops were often almost starving; and the army ready to be dissolved for want of food. The arsenals were nearly empty. Instead of having the requisites of a well-appointed army, every thing was deficient; and there was little prospect of being better provided, for money was as scarce as food and military stores. Congress had resolved to issue no more bills on the credit of the Union; and the care of supplying the army was devolved upon the several states, according to a rule established by that body. Even when the states had collected the specified provisions, the quarter-master-general had no funds to pay for the transportation of them to the army, to accomplish which, military impressment was resorted to, in a most offensive degree. Congress was surrounded with difficulties: the several states were callous and dilatory; and American affairs wore an aspect of debility and decay.

To deepen the general gloom, there were portentous rumours of preparations for savage warfare along the whole extent of the western frontier; of an invasion on

the side of Canada; and of strong disaffection in Vermont. In the midst of financial difficulties, and apprehensions of attack both from foreign and domestic enemies, a new and alarming danger appeared, in a quarter where it was little expected, and which threatened to consummate the ruin of American independence. The privations and sufferings of the troops had been uncommonly great. To the usual hardships of a military life were added nakedness and hunger, under that rigour of climate which whets the appetite, and renders clothing absolutely necessary. By the depreciation of the paper currency their pay was little more than nominal, and it was many months in arrear.

Besides those evils, which were common to the whole army, the troops of Pennsylvania imagined that they laboured under peculiar grievances. Their officers had engaged them for three years, or during the war. On the expiration of three years, the soldiers thought themselves entitled to a discharge: the officers alleged, that they were engaged for the war. The large bounties given to those who were not bound by previous enlistment heightened the discontent of the soldiers, and made them more zealous in asserting what they thought their right. In the first transports of their patriotism they had readily enlisted; but men will not long willingly submit to immediate and unprofitable hardships, in the prospect of distant and contingent rewards.

The discontents engendered by the causes now mentioned had for some time been increasing; and, on the 1st of January, 1781, broke out into open and almost universal mutiny of the troops of Pennsylvania. On a signal given, the greater part of the non-commissioned officers and privates paraded under arms, declaring their intention of marching to the seat of congress, to obtain a redress of grievances, or to abandon the service. The officers made every exertion to bring them back to their duty, but in vain: in the attempt a captain was killed, and several other persons wounded. General Wayne interposed; but, on cocking his pistols at some of the

most audacious of the mutineers, several bayonets were at his breast, the men exclaiming, "We respect you, we love you; but you are a dead man if you fire! Do not mistake us: we are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, were they to come out, you should see us fight under you with as much resolution and alacrity as ever: but we wish a redress of grievances, and will no longer be amused." Such of the Pennsylvania troops as had at first taken no part in the disturbance were prevailed on to join the mutineers; and the whole, amounting to 1300 men, with six field-pieces, marched from Morristown, under temporary officers of their own election. General Washington's head-quarters were then at New Windsor, on the North River.

Next day general Wayne and colonels Butter and Stewart, officers who in a high degree enjoyed the confidence and affection of the troops, followed the mutineers; but, though civilly received, they could not succeed in adjusting the differences, or in restoring subordination. On the third day the mutineers resumed their march, and in the morning arrived at Princetown. Congress and the Pennsylvania government, as well as general Washington, were much alarmed by this mutiny; fearing the example might be contagious, and lead to the dissolution of the feeble American army. Therefore a committee of congress, with the governor and some members of the executive council of Pennsylvania, set out from Philadelphia for the purpose of allaying this dangerous commotion.

Sir Henry Clinton, who heard of the mutiny on the morning of the 3d, was equally active in endeavouring to turn it to the advantage of his government. He ordered a large corps to be in readiness to march on a moment's notice; and sent two American spies by way of Amboy, and two by way of Elizabeth-town, as agents from himself to treat with the mutineers. But two of the persons employed were actually spies on himself, and soon disclosed his proposals to the American authorities. The two real spies, on reaching Princetown, were

seized by the mutineers, and afterwards delivered up to general Wayne, who had them tried and executed on the 10th.

At first the mutineers declined leaving Princetown; but, finding their demands would be substantially complied with, they marched to Trenton on the 9th, and before the 15th the matter was so far settled that the committee of congress left Trenton and returned to Philadelphia. All who had enlisted for three years, or during the war, were to be discharged; and in cases where the terms of enlistment could not be produced, the oath of the soldier was to be received as evidence on the point. They were to receive immediate certificates for the depreciation on their pay, and their arrears were to be settled as soon as circumstances would admit. On those terms about one half of the Pennsylvania troops obtained their discharge; numbers of them having, as afterwards appeared, made false declarations concerning the terms of their enlistment.

Congress was placed in very difficult circumstances; but spotless integrity and a lofty sense of honour did not predominate in the counsels of that assembly. When they could be unjust, they felt no very sacred regard for equity; and conveniency was too often preferred to justice. In the instance under consideration, congress was compelled to grant much more than what, if well timed, would have prevented an alarming mutiny.

The success of the Pennsylvania troops, in exacting from their country by violence what had been denied to the claims of equity, produced a similar spirit of insubordination in another division of the army. On the night of the 20th of January, about 160 of the Jersey brigade, which was quartered at Pompton, complaining of grievances similar to those of the Pennsylvania line, and hoping for equal success, rose in arms, and marched to Chatham, with the view of prevailing on some of their comrades stationed there to join them. Their number was not formidable; and general Washington, knowing that he might depend on the fidelity of the

greater part of his troops, detached general Robert Howe against the mutineers, with orders to force them to unconditional submission, and to execute some of the most turbulent of them on the spot. These orders were promptly obeyed, and two of the ringleaders were put to death.

Sir Henry Clinton, as in the case of the Pennsylvanians, endeavoured to take advantage of the mutiny of the Jersey brigade. He sent emissaries to negotiate with them, and detached general Robertson with 3000 men to Staten Island, to be in readiness to support them, if they should accede to his proposals; but the mutiny was so speedily crushed that his emissaries had no time to act.

These commotions among the soldiers awakened congress to a sense of its danger, and rendered it more attentive in soothing the army than it had hitherto been. It raised about three months' pay in specie; and even that small sum was gratefully received by the troops, who considered it a token that the civil authorities were not entirely regardless of their sufferings or indifferent to their comfort. But, in attempting to escape one danger, congress felt itself exposed to another scarcely less alarming. The means used to soothe the army irritated the people. The troops were scantily supplied; and yet the inhabitants murmured loudly at the contributions levied upon them; and the dissatisfaction which pervaded the mass of the community was almost as dangerous as the mutinous spirit of the army.

Hitherto the United States had been held together by a very slender bond. The powers of congress were limited; and it was not to be expected that thirteen independent states, each jealous of its liberty, power, and property, would promptly, harmoniously, and vigorously combine their strength during a protracted, expensive, and bloody struggle. But though every man of discernment was sensible of the propriety of increasing the powers of congress, and consequently of leaving less in the hands of the state legislatures; yet the several states, having

once been in possession of power, felt no inclination to relinquish any part of their authority, how incompetent soever they might be to the advantageous exercise of it: thus the concentration of a due degree of power in the hands of congress was a measure which could not be easily accomplished.

The war had continued much longer than the Americans had originally anticipated; and the natural resources of the country, mismanaged by the inexperience of the government, and its ignorance of the principles of political economy, were so much exhausted, that it became apparent the war could not be carried on without a foreign loan; and France, sufficiently embarrassed with her own affairs, was the only country to which congress could look for pecuniary aid. Accordingly, lieutenant-colonel Laurens was employed on this mission; and, besides endeavouring to negotiate a loan, was instructed to press on the French monarch the advantage of maintaining a naval superiority in the American seas. While the energies of America were thus paralysed by the financial difficulties of congress, the mutinous spirit of part of the army, and the selfishness and apathy of several of the states, the British interest in the provinces seemed in a prosperous condition. General Greene maintained a doubtful and hazardous struggle against earl Cornwallis on the northern frontier of North Carolina. A British detachment from New York made a deep impression on Virginia, where the resistance was neither so prompt nor so vigorous as had been expected from the strength of that state and the unanimity of its citizens.

The untoward condition of American affairs could not be concealed from the British ministry, who flattered themselves that they would soon compel general Washington and his feeble army to take refuge in the states of New England, and that they would reduce all the provinces south of the Hudson to submission to the British crown. But exertions on the one side, and reverses on the other, which neither had anticipated, were soon to change the relative state of the contending parties.

The business of the executive had hitherto been conducted by committees of congress. This cumbrous system, which so long maintained itself partly by the importance which a member of a committee felt in his office, and partly by the novelty of the practice, which to many Americans was a strong recommendation, was at length superseded by a minister of foreign affairs, a superintendent of finance, a secretary of war, and a secretary of marine. Such was the tardy progress of congress, that the year was far spent before this improvement could be completed.

From the relative position and strength of the hostile armies on the Hudson, neither could hope to gain any decisive advantage. The force under the American commander-in-chief was entirely inadequate to attack New York; and sir Henry Clinton had no prospect of being able to force the strong posts of general Washington in the highlands. Neither party could do more than carry on a petty and desultory warfare. Hitherto the Americans had received no direct aid from the French army. Ever since its arrival, the fleet of that nation had been blockaded at Newport; and the land forces remained in a position to co-operate with the fleet for mutual defence.

About the middle of January, the British fleet was overtaken by a storm off the east end of Long Island, and sustained so much loss and damage as to give the French fleet a temporary superiority on the coast. Destouches, the French admiral, was prevailed on to seize that opportunity of sending a small force to the Chesapeake Bay to act against Arnold, who was then pillaging Virginia; but that force returned to Newport, without accomplishing any thing except taking the Romulus, a fifty-gun ship, on her way from Charlestown to Chesapeake Bay. General Washington, unwilling to relinquish the attempt against Arnold, repaired to Newport; and, on the 6th of March, had a conference with the French commanders, at which it was agreed that the whole fleet should immediately sail to the Chesa-

peake, with a detachment of troops on board; but, owing to unforeseen circumstances, it was the evening of the 8th before the fleet left the harbour.

Meanwhile due notice of the expedition was sent to the American officers commanding in Virginia, and instructions to co-operate with their allies. From this enterprise general Washington entertained sanguine expectations of being able to apprehend Arnold; and directed the marquis de la Fayette to grant him no terms which would save him from the consequences of his crimes. However, the delay in the sailing of the fleet frustrated the design of the American commander-in-chief.

Admiral Arbuthnot, having repaired his damages, pursued and on the 16th overtook the French fleet, off the Capes of Virginia. An indecisive engagement ensued, in which each party claimed the victory; but the object of the French expedition was defeated, and the fleet returned to Newport.

The British began their hostile operations against America in the provinces of New England; but there they met with such a stubborn resistance as soon induced them to abandon that part of the country, and to direct their attacks against more vulnerable points. New York had been less hostile to the parent state than any of the other provinces; and there they effected a lodgement, with the view of separating the middle from the northern colonies. From that station the war had been carried on with doubtful success. In 1776, an attempt against Charlestown was gallantly repulsed; and for some years the southern states enjoyed the reward of the brave defence of Fort Moultrie. In 1780, however, the British arms were more successful in that quarter, and when, towards the close of the campaign, and in the early part of 1781, it was fondly believed that earl Cornwallis had subdued Georgia and the Carolinas, measures were concerted for invading Virginia also, which had hitherto escaped the scourge of war.

By means of Chesapeake Bay and the great rivers

which fall into it, that state is particularly open to incursory depredations by a power which has an undisputed naval superiority. Chesapeake Bay is a remarkable gulf or inland sea. Its entrance, between Capes Henry and Charles, is twelve miles wide. At first it runs straight into the land, but afterwards turns northward, and extends in that direction upwards of 150 miles. It is generally about nine fathoms deep, and varies in breadth from five to upwards of twenty miles. Its shores are indented with bays and projecting points; and the James, York, Rappahannock, Potowmac, and Susquehannah, large and navigable rivers, besides a number of smaller streams, pour their waters into it. The same causes which so much exposed the state to invasion by means of a superior naval force, prevent the speedy concentration of a large body of militia at any one point.

Towards the end of October, 1780, general Leslie entered Chesapeake Bay, landed at Portsmouth, and began to fortify himself there with about 3000 men. But, on experiencing unexpected and increasing difficulties in the Carolinas, earl Cornwallis directed that officer with his detachment to proceed to Charlestown. The invasion of Virginia, however, though interrupted, was not relinquished. Sir Henry Clinton resolved to prosecute the war with vigour in that quarter; and in the end of the year sent the notorious general Arnold, with 1600 men, to Chesapeake Bay. That officer sailed up James' River, and on the 4th of January, 1781, landed at Westover, 140 miles from the capes, and twenty-five below Richmond, the capital of the state which stands on the north side of the river at the falls or rapids.

Major-general baron Steuben, who commanded in that part of Virginia, thought the expedition was intended against Petersburgh, situated on the Appomattox, which falls into James River, a little above Westover. At that place a considerable quantity of stores had been collected for the use of the southern army; and those stores the baron caused his feeble body of raw troops,

scarcely amounting to 300 men, to remove to a place of greater security.

At Westover, Arnold landed with the greater part of his troops, and marched directly towards Richmond. A few regulars who were in that vicinity, and some militia, were ordered to impede his progress; but their weak efforts were ineffectual. Meanwhile baron Steuben made every exertion to remove the stores from Richmond, carrying them partly across the river, and partly to West Ham at the head of the rapids.

On the day after landing at Westover, Arnold entered Richmond, with little opposition. There he halted with 500 men, and sent lieutenant-colonel Simcoe forward with other 500 to West Ham, where he burned and destroyed a valuable foundery, a boring mill, a powder magazine, and a considerable quantity of military stores. Colonel Simcoe returned to Richmond, where the public property, as well as a large quantity of rum and salt belonging to individuals, were destroyed. After completing the work of destruction at Richmond, Arnold returned to Westover on the 7th; and, after some skirmishing, reimbarked on the 10th, sailed down the river, destroying on his way the stores at Smithfield and Mackay's Mills, and on the 20th arrived at Portsmouth, where he manifested an intention of establishing a permanent post. In this expedition Arnold, while he destroyed a large quantity of military stores and other valuable property of different kinds, stated his loss at only seven men killed and twenty-three wounded.

Baron Steuben being in no condition to attack Arnold at Portsmouth, was careful to station his troops at the most convenient passes leading from that place into the country, in order to afford the inhabitants all the protection in his power. It was while Arnold lay at Portsmouth, that general Washington formed the plan of apprehending him, which failed through the backwardness of the French to engage in it.

As Arnold's force was not sufficient to make any deep and permanent impression on the powerful state of Vir-

ginia, the British commander-in-chief resolved to increase it; and for that purpose, about the middle of March, sent general Philips with 2000 chosen men from New York to Chesapeake Bay. General Philips arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th; and, being the superior officer, took the command of the army in Virginia.

After employing some time in completing the fortifications of Portsmouth, general Philips began offensive operations, with a force much superior to what congress could oppose to him in that part of the country. On the 18th of April he embarked 2500 men on board his smaller vessels, and sailed up James River in order to destroy every thing that had escaped the ravages of Arnold. He landed at Burrel's Ferry, and marched to Williamsburgh, the former seat of government in Virginia. A small body of militia assembled there retreated on his approach, and he entered the place without opposition. He sent parties through all the lower district of that narrow tract of land, which lies between James and York Rivers, who destroyed all public stores and property which fell in their way. He then reimbarked, sailed up the river to City Point, where he landed on the afternoon of the 24th, and next day marched to Petersburgh, where he destroyed an immense quantity of tobacco and other property, together with the vessels lying in the river.

Baron Steuben was unable to make any effectual resistance to this ruthless work of devastation. The regular troops of the state had been sent to reinforce general Greene, and the militia then in the field did not much exceed 2000. Even although the whole of that number could have been collected at any one point, yet with that kind of force no enterprise of importance could be undertaken. To have hazarded a battle with the militia against regular troops would only have been to ensure defeat, the loss of arms, and the consequent discouragement of the country. Baron Steuben had the mortification to see the state laid waste, without being

able to relieve it; and after some slight skirmishing he retreated towards Richmond.

Arnold was detached to Osbornes, a small village on the south side of James River, fifteen miles below Richmond; while general Philips marched to Chesterfield Court-house, which had been appointed the place of rendezvous for the new levies of Virginia, where he destroyed the barracks and some public stores which had not been removed. About half way between Osborne's and Richmond, a few small armed vessels which had been collected to co-operate with the French against Portsmouth, after a slight resistance, were scuttled and set on fire by their crews, who joined the militia and fled.

On the 30th of April, generals Philips and Arnold reunited their forces near Osborne's, and marched against Manchester, a small town on the south bank of James River, opposite Richmond, where, as usual, they set fire to the warehouses and consumed the tobacco and other property.

At that critical and disastrous period in the history of Virginia, the marquis de la Fayette arrived from the northward to take the command of the military force in that state. This young nobleman had early espoused the cause of America with all the enthusiasm of an ardent and generous mind, and had manifested such a lively zeal for the interests of the union as secured to him the entire confidence both of the American commander-in-chief and of congress. When the attempt was meditated against Arnold at Portsmouth, he was appointed to command the troops to be employed in the enterprise; but on the abandonment of the expedition by the naval force of France he returned from Annapolis in Maryland, where he had arrived, and proceeded to the head of Elk River, at which place he received orders to take the command of the troops in Virginia.

When the marquis de la Fayette marched to the southward on the meditated enterprise against Arnold, the troops which he carried along with him were drawn

chiefly from the northern states; and, as it was believed the expedition would be of short duration, they were ill provided for a southern campaign, and had imbibed strong prejudices against the climate. When they understood that the duty would be more permanent than had been at first expected, numbers of them deserted. But, appealing to their honour, the marquis at length succeeded in inspiring his troops with the resolution of braving every danger and enduring every privation in the cause of their country. In order to encourage them, that young nobleman, as careless of fortune as he was ambitious of fame, borrowed money on his own personal credit from the merchants of Baltimore to purchase shoes, linen, and other necessaries for his detachment; and the ladies of that city, with patriotic zeal, took charge of immediately making the summer clothes of the troops.

The marquis arrived at Richmond with his detachment on the evening before general Philips entered Manchester; and, instead of attempting to pass the river in the face of that officer, the British general marched back to Bermuda Hundreds, a point of land formed by the junction of James River and the Appomattox, destroying much valuable property on his way. Embarking his army, he sailed down the river as far as Hog's Island, where the van of his fleet arrived on the 5th day of May.

On the return of the British down the river, the marquis sent small parties to follow them and watch their motions, while he established his head-quarters behind the river Chicahominy, at some distance from Richmond. On the 7th of May, general Philips received a letter from earl Cornwallis, informing him of his lordship's march into Virginia, and mentioning Petersburgh as the place at which he expected to meet the British troops in that province. General Philips immediately returned up the river, landed one division at Brandon, while another proceeded to City Point; and on the 9th, those two divisions met at Petersburgh, where their arrival was so unexpected that they took prisoners some of La

Fayette's officers, who had been sent to that place for the purpose of collecting boats to convey his troops across the river. Meanwhile general Philips was seized with fever, and was so ill on reaching Petersburgh as to be unable to give orders. The progress of his disease was rapid, and he died four days afterwards, when the command of the troops devolved on Arnold.

CHAP. IX.

CORNWALLIS ENTERS VIRGINIA. — PURSUES LA FAYETTE. — SENDS TARLETON AGAINST CHARLOTTEVILLE, AND SIMCOE AGAINST STEUBEN. — LA FAYETTE JOINED BY WAYNE, AND RETURNS SOUTHWARD. — SAVES THE STORES AT ALBEMARLE COURT-HOUSE. — CORNWALLIS RETURNS DOWN THE RIVER. — ADVENTURE OF CHARLES MORGAN. — SKIRMISH AT JAMES RIVER. — CORNWALLIS RETIRES TO PORTSMOUTH. — OCCUPIES YORKTOWN.

We formerly left earl Cornwallis at Wilmington in North Carolina on the 7th of April. There he remained eighteen days, in order to refresh his exhausted troops and having resolved, after much deliberation, to proceed northward, on the 25th of the month he set out on his march into Virginia, a distance of 300 miles. In his progress, he met with little opposition. Colonel Tarleton, with 180 cavalry and 60 mounted infantry, preceded the army, and easily dispersed any bodies of militia that were assembling to interrupt it. On the 20th of May earl Cornwallis reached Petersburgh, and took the command of the British troops in Virginia. He felt his force decidedly superior to that opposed to him, and exulted in the prospect of success. Undervaluing the talents and resources of the marquis de la Fayette, his young opponent, he incautiously wrote to Europe, in a letter which was intercepted, "*the boy cannot escape me.*"

On being informed that general Philips, in returning up the river, had landed at Brandon on the southern bank, and that earl Cornwallis was marching northward, the marquis perceived that a junction of their forces was intended; and suspecting that Petersburgh was the appointed place of meeting, he endeavoured to anticipate them in the occupation of that town. But the march of general Philips was so rapid that he entered it before him, and frustrated his design. The marquis, with his little army, consisting of 1000 continentals, 2000 militia, and 60 dragoons, took a position at Richmond, and exerted himself in removing the military stores to places of greater security.

On the 24th of May, earl Cornwallis left Petersburgh, crossed James River at Westover, thirty miles below La Fayette's encampment, and, being joined by a reinforcement from New York, marched at the head of upwards of 4000 veterans towards Richmond. But the marquis evacuated that town on the 27th, and retired towards the back country; inclining his march towards the north, so that he might easily form a junction with general Wayne, who was hastening to reinforce him with 800 men of the Pennsylvania line. Earl Cornwallis eagerly pursued his retreating foe as far as the upper part of Hanover county; but, finding it impossible to overtake the marquis, or to prevent his junction with general Wayne, he at length altered the course of his march, and turned his attention to more attainable objects.

In his progress he destroyed much public property. That of individuals also was plundered or consumed, under pretext of cutting the sinews of war; so that Virginia, which had long escaped hostile ravages, now experienced its full share of the public calamity. Earl Cornwallis took the horses from the stables of private gentlemen, formed an efficient cavalry, and mounted many of his infantry; so that he could move considerable detachments with uncommon rapidity.

Being thus provided with the means of rapid marches,

he planned an expedition against Charlotteville, where the general assembly of Virginia was then sitting, deliberating on the means necessary for the prosecution of the war. The assembly had been sitting at Richmond, but, on the approach of the British army, had retired to Charlotteville, which stands on the bank of the Rivanna high up the river. At that place there were some military stores; but the British prisoners were removed from it and conducted towards Pennsylvania.

The force under Tarleton, in the expedition against Charlotteville, consisted of 180 cavalry and seventy mounted infantry of the 23d regiment. At first the second battalion of the 71st regiment was ordered to accompany him, but the officers of that regiment presented a memorial to earl Cornwallis, representing their unwillingness to serve under that officer, who had commanded at the Cow-Pens, where the first battalion of their regiment were made prisoners. They were therefore attached to Simcoe's corps, and the 23d regiment appointed to accompany Tarleton, who on that occasion displayed his usual activity, and advanced so rapidly towards the place of destination, that it was by mere accident that the inhabitants of Charlotteville heard of his approach before he entered the town, and that all the members of the assembly of Virginia were not made prisoners. But Mr. Janiette, a private gentleman, observing Tarleton's march, suspecting his design, mounted a fleet horse, and, by following a short and unfrequented road, reached the town two hours before the British cavalry entered it. The greater part of the legislative assembly escaped and re-assembled at Staunton, beyond the Blue Ridge; only seven of them were made prisoners. Tarleton destroyed all the public stores at Charlotteville; and sent captain M'Leod, with a troop of horse, to Mr. Jefferson's mansion three miles farther, in order to apprehend that gentleman and some other individuals who were understood to be there, but with instructions to commit no depredations. Mr. Jefferson and his friends made their escape; but M'Leod punctu-

ally obeyed his orders; and, after remaining eighteen hours in the house, left it and all it contained uninjured; conduct as honourable as it was rare, especially in Virginia.

Colonel Tarleton having executed his commission at Charlotteville, hastened down the Rivanna to co-operate with colonel Simcoe, who had been sent with a detachment of 500 men, chiefly infantry, in order to surprise baron Steuben, who was then at Point of Fork, formed by the confluence of the Rivanna and Fluvanna, the two great branches which constitute James River. He had upwards of 500 raw troops and a considerable quantity of stores under his protection; and waited for the militia to the south of James River, who had been directed to assemble at Point of Fork.

Colonel Simcoe's progress had not been so rapid as that of Tarleton; but so skilfully had he conducted his march, that though baron Steuben had heard of Tarleton's expedition against Charlotteville, yet he had received no notice of Simcoe's approach to his own encampment; but, as a measure of precaution, he left Point of Fork and took a position on the south side of the Fluvanna, securing all the boats on the southern bank. Colonel Simcoe's detachment unexpectedly appeared; and the baron, mistaking it for the van of the British army, retreated precipitately during the night, leaving behind him part of the stores, which were next day destroyed by colonel Simcoe. The baron did not halt till he was thirty miles from Point of Fork.

In Virginia the British had committed fearful devastations, and had destroyed much valuable property; but earl Cornwallis, though at the head of a superior army, had gained no important advantage over his opponent. He had pushed the marquis de la Fayette across the Rappahannock, but was unable to prevent his junction with general Wayne, which was accomplished at Racoon Ford on the 7th of June. The marquis immediately repassed the Rappahannock, and advanced towards the British army.

In the course of those movements earl Cornwallis had got completely between the marquis and the stores of the state, which were deposited at different places, but principally at Albemarle Old Court-house high up the Fluvanna, on the south side of the river. Those stores were an object of importance to both armies; and, early in June, the British commander, after having dispensed with the services of Arnold, and allowed him to return to New York, directed his march to Albemarle Court-house. The marquis was anxious to preserve his magazines; and, while the British army was more than a day's march from Albemarle Court-house, by a rapid and unexpected movement he suddenly appeared in its vicinity. The British general easily penetrated his design; and, being between him and his magazines, took a position near the road, so that he could attack him with advantage if he attempted to advance. During the night, however, the marquis discovered and cleared a nearer but long disused road, and passed the British army unobserved; and, in the morning, earl Cornwallis, with surprise and mortification, saw his adversary strongly posted between him and the stores.

Perceiving that the Americans could not be attacked unless under great disadvantages, and believing their force greater than it really was, earl Cornwallis abandoned his enterprise and began a retrograde movement, and, in two night marches, fell back upwards of fifty miles. On the 17th of June he entered Richmond, but left it on the 20th, and continued his route to Williamsburgh, where the main body of his army arrived on the 25th.

The American army followed him at a cautious distance. On the 19th the marquis was joined by baron Steuben with his detachment, which increased the American army to 4000 men; of whom 2000 were regulars, but only 1500 were disciplined troops. That of earl Cornwallis appears to have been somewhat more numerous, and consisted entirely of veterans: it was also provided with a well-mounted body of cavalry, which

had spread terror and devastation over the country, and greatly intimidated the militia.

Though the marquis kept about twenty miles behind the main body of the British army, yet his light parties hung on its rear, and skirmishes occasionally ensued. A sharp encounter happened near Williamsburgh between the advanced guard of the Americans, under colonel Butler, and the rear guard of the British under colonel Simcoe, in which both suffered considerable loss. Part of the British army marched to colonel Simcoe's assistance, and the Americans were obliged to retreat. Although the marquis encouraged skirmishes and partial conflicts, yet, distrusting his new levies and militia, he cautiously avoided a general battle. While the British army remained at Williamsburgh, the Americans occupied a strong encampment twenty miles from that place.

During the various movements of the troops in Virginia, property to a great amount, both public and private, was destroyed. Among other articles 2000 hogsheads of tobacco were burned; individuals suffered severely, and the resources of the state were considerably impaired. While the army traversed the country, carrying devastation in its train, ships of war sailed up the rivers, pillaged the farms, received fugitive negroes, and, in some instances, laid the houses in ashes. Early in the spring a British frigate went up the Potowmac to general Washington's mansion at Mount Vernon, and demanded from the steward a quantity of provisions, which was granted in order to save the property. This compliance, however, was not satisfactory to the American commander-in-chief, who declared that it would have been more agreeable to him to have left the enemy to take what they pleased by force, even at the risk of burning his house and property.

Though the militia showed no alacrity in taking the field, and though less resistance was made to the royal arms in Virginia than had been expected from such a powerful state, yet very little inclination manifested it-

self among the people to support the British cause. Some loyalists in a remote part of the province were easily reduced to unconditional submission by general Morgan, whom ill health had obliged to quit the army; but who, on this occasion, put himself at the head of a few mounted riflemen to subdue the insurgents.

In order to present war in an aspect somewhat different from any in which we have hitherto contemplated it, I shall here introduce the adventure of Charles Morgan, commonly called *Charlie* by his comrades. Charlie was a shrewd rustic of the Jersey brigade, a good soldier, and had attracted the notice of the marquis de la Fayette. In the course of the movements on James River, the marquis was anxious to procure exact information of the force under earl Cornwallis, and, if possible, to penetrate his lordship's designs: he considered Charlie as a proper agent for the accomplishment of his purposes, and proposed to him to enter the British camp in the character of a deserter, but in reality as a spy. Charlie undertook the perilous enterprise, merely stipulating that, if he were detected and hanged as a spy, the marquis should cause it to be inserted in the Jersey newspapers, that he was acting under the orders of his commanding officer.

The pretended deserter entered the British lines and was conducted into the presence of earl Cornwallis. On being questioned by that nobleman concerning his motives for desertion, he replied, "that he had been with the American army from the beginning of the war, and that while under general Washington he was satisfied; but that now they had put them under a Frenchman, he did not like it, and therefore had deserted." Charlie was received without suspicion, was punctual in discharging his duty as a soldier, and carefully observed every thing that passed. One day while on duty with his comrades, earl Cornwallis, who was in close conversation with some of his officers, called him and asked, "How long will it take the marquis to cross James River?" "Three hours, my lord," was the answer. "Three hours!" exclaimed his lordship: "will it not take three days?"

"No, my lord," said Charlie; "the marquis has so many boats, each boat will carry so many men; and if your lordship will take the trouble of calculating, you will find he can cross in three hours." Turning to his officers, the earl said, in the hearing of the American, "The scheme will not do."

Charlie was now resolved to abandon his new friends; and, for that purpose, plied his comrades with *grog* till they were all in high spirits with the liquor. He then began to complain of the wants in the British camp, extolled the plentiful provision enjoyed by the Americans, and concluded by proposing to them to desert: they agreed to accompany him, and left it to him to manage the sentinels. To the first he offered, in a very friendly manner, a draught of rum from his canteen; but, while the soldier was drinking, Charlie seized his arms, and then proposed to him to desert with them, which he did through necessity. The second sentinel was served in the same way; and Charlie hastened to the American camp at the head of seven British deserters. On presenting himself before his employer, the marquis exclaimed, "Ah Charlie! have you got back?" "Yes, please your excellency," was the answer, "and have brought seven more with me." The marquis offered him money, but he declined accepting it, and only desired to have his gun again: the marquis then proposed to raise him to the rank of a corporal or serjeant, but Charlie's reply was, "I will not have any promotion; I have abilities for a common soldier, and have a good character: should I be promoted, my abilities may not answer, and I may lose my character." He, however, generously requested for his fellow soldiers, who were not so well supplied with stockings, shoes, and clothing as himself, the marquis's interference to procure a supply of their wants. Charles Morgan valued himself on his character, was proud no doubt of this adventure, and applauded on account of it by his comrades; but he had not even a conception of the pure integrity of an honest man.

For some time after entering Virginia, earl Cornwallis entertained the most flattering hopes of success. He was at the head of an army, which no force in that province was able to resist; and he felt no doubt of succeeding against the marquis de la Fayette. But that young officer eluded his most active exertions, frustrated some of his schemes, and now hung upon him with an army, which, though still inferior, was nevertheless formidable, and daily increasing in strength. But new disappointments and more mortifying events awaited this active nobleman. While at Williamsburgh he received a requisition from sir Henry Clinton for part of the troops under his command: the commander-in-chief having discovered that an attack was meditated on New York, thought his garrison insufficient for the defence of that place, and wished part of the troops in Virginia to be sent to his assistance. Earl Cornwallis prepared to comply with sir Henry Clinton's requisition; and, believing that with the remaining troops he would be unable to maintain himself at Williamsburgh, he resolved to pass James' River and retire to Portsmouth. On the 30th of June he apprised the commander-in-chief of his resolution.

On the 4th of July the army marched from Williamsburgh, and encamped on the bank of James River, so as to cover a ford leading into the island of James Town. On the 5th and 6th, the baggage and some of the troops passed the ford; but the main body of the army kept its ground.

On the morning of the 5th of July, the marquis de la Fayette left his encampment, crossed the Chicahominy, pushed his light troops near the British position, and advanced with the continentals to make an attempt on the British rear, after their main body had passed the river. On the afternoon of the 6th, the marquis was told that the main body of the British army had crossed the ford, and that a rear guard only remained behind; an opinion which the British general artfully encouraged by the judicious manner in which he posted his troops.

General Wayne, imagining that he had to fight a rear guard only, advanced boldly against the enemy; but in a short time he unexpectedly found himself in presence of the British army drawn up to receive him. Instant retreat he considered impracticable, and thought the boldest course the most safe. With 800 men he made a brisk attack; and for some minutes the conflict was sharp and bloody. But La Fayette, discovering the mistake, ordered a retreat, which was made with precipitation, leaving two pieces of cannon in the hands of the British. The Americans retired behind a morass; and, it being nearly dark, earl Cornwallis, suspecting an ambuscade, ordered no pursuit. In this encounter, the Americans had 118 men, including ten officers, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The loss of the British was not so great, amounting to five officers, and about seventy privates. In the course of the night the British passed into the island; whence soon afterwards they proceeded to Portsmouth.

The troops required by the commander-in-chief were embarked; but, before they sailed, despatches arrived from New York countermanding the order. At the same time, the commander-in-chief deprecated the thought of abandoning the Chesapeake, stating, that as soon as the season for military operations in that quarter returned, he would probably send thither all the disposable troops under his command, and recommending the establishment of a defensive post for the reception of ships of the line, either at York, on the river of that name, or at Point Comfort in Hampton Road. Earl Cornwallis accordingly ordered Point Comfort and York to be surveyed by engineers and officers of the navy, from whose report it appeared that works constructed on Old Point Comfort could neither defend the entrance into Hampton Road, nor afford protection to ships lying there; and as it was admitted that Portsmouth was not a station of the description required, earl Cornwallis thought his instructions left him no alternative but to fortify York and Gloucester, as the only points capable

of affording the requisite protection to ships of the line. Measures were accordingly taken for seizing and fortifying those places, and for evacuating Portsmouth. Part of the army proceeded, in boats and transports, up the Chesapeake and York River, and, on the 1st of August, took possession of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, the former on the south, the latter on the north side of the river. The evacuation of Portsmouth was completed; and on the 22d the British force in Virginia concentrated at York and Gloucester. Here we shall leave earl Cornwallis and his army diligently fortifying themselves, and for a while turn our attention to the northward.

CHAP. X

FRENCH DONATION. — FLEET. — ARMY. — INTERVIEW BETWEEN GENERALS WASHINGTON AND ROCHAMBEAU. — ARMIES UNITE. — ADVANCE TO KINGSBRIDGE. — RETIRE. — ARRIVAL OF DE GRASSE. — RESOLUTION TO ATTACK EARL CORNWALLIS. — RENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE FLEETS. — ARNOLD ATTACKS NEW LONDON. — SIEGE OF YORKTOWN. — CAPTURE OF EARL CORNWALLIS AND HIS ARMY.

In the early part of the year the affairs of congress wore a gloomy and alarming aspect: the finances were exhausted, the troops mutinous, the army much diminished in numbers, and the soldiers who remained with the standards of their country were in a state of entire destitution. The necessity of a foreign loan and of European auxiliaries was obvious; and an early application for both had been made to France. But, how well disposed soever that power was to grant the desired assistance, compliance was no easy matter; for the treasury had enough to do in answering the national demands necessarily made on it, and was little able to supply foreign wants. As a signal proof of friendship,

however, the French monarch gave his allies a donation of six millions of livres, and promised to support them with a strong naval and military armament.

Early in May, the count de Barras, who had been appointed to the command of the French fleet on the American coast, arrived at Boston, accompanied by the viscount de Rochambeau, commander of the land forces. An interview between general Washington and the French commanders was immediately appointed to be held at Withersfield, three miles from Hartford, on the 21st; but some movements of the British fleet made De Barras repair to Newport, while the two generals met at the appointed place, and agreed on a plan of the campaign. It was resolved to unite the French and American armies on the Hudson, and to commence vigorous operations against New York. The regular army at that station was estimated at only 4500 men; and though sir Henry Clinton might be able to reinforce it with 5000 or 6000 militia, yet it was believed he could not maintain the post, without recalling a considerable part of his troops from the southward, and enfeebling the operations of the British in that quarter; in which case it was resolved to make a vigorous attack on the point which presented the best prospect of success.

General Washington immediately required the states of New England to have 6000 militia in readiness to march, wherever they might be called for; and sent an account of the conference at Withersfield to congress. His despatch was intercepted in the Jerseys, and carried to sir Henry Clinton; who, alarmed by the plan which it disclosed, made the requisition, already mentioned, of part of the troops under earl Cornwallis, and took diligent precautions for maintaining his post against the meditated attack.

Meanwhile the several states of the Union were extremely dilatory in furnishing their contingents of troops, and it was found difficult to procure subsistence for the small number of men already in the field. The people and their rulers talked loudly of liberty, but each was

anxious to sacrifice as little as possible to maintain it, and to devolve on his neighbour the expense, dangers, and privations of the struggle. In their speeches they were generous patriots; but a mean selfishness characterised their actions. The first ebullition of popular zeal had long subsided, and, instead of remote and uncertain advantages, many looked only to present ease and comfort.

In consequence of this dilatory spirit, when the troops left their winter quarters in the month of June, and encamped at Peekskill, the army under Washington did not amount to 5000 men. This force was so much inferior to what had been contemplated when the plan of operations was agreed on at Withersfield, that it became doubtful whether it would be expedient to adhere to that plan. But the deficiency of the American force was in some measure compensated by the arrival at Boston of a reinforcement of 1500 men to the army under count Rochambeau.

The hope of terminating the war in the course of the campaign, encouraged the states to make some exertions. Small as was their military force, it was difficult to find subsistence for the troops; and, even after the army had taken the field, there was reason to apprehend that it would be obliged to abandon the objects of the campaign for want of provisions. In that critical juncture of American affairs, when the government was without money and without credit, the finances of the Union were intrusted to Mr. Robert Morris, a member of congress for Pennsylvania, a man of considerable capital, and of much sagacity and mercantile enterprise. He extensively pledged his personal credit for articles of the first necessity to the army; and, by an honourable fulfilment of his engagements, did much to restore public credit and confidence. It was owing mainly to his exertions that the active and decisive operations of the campaign were not greatly impeded or entirely defeated, by want of subsistence to the army, and of the means of transporting military stores.

Mr. Morris planned a national bank of 400,000 dollars: its notes were to be received as cash into the treasuries of the several states, and also as an equivalent for the necessaries which the states were bound to provide for the army. In this way, and by a liberal and judicious application of his own resources, an individual afforded the supplies which government was unable to furnish.

The French troops marched from Newport and Boston towards the Hudson. Both in quarters and on the route their behaviour was exemplary, and gained the respect and good-will of the inhabitants. Towards the end of June, general Washington put his army in motion; and, learning that a royal detachment had passed into the Jerseys, he formed a plan to surprise the British posts on the north end of York Island; but it did not succeed; and general Lincoln, who commanded the Americans, being attacked by a strong British party, a sharp conflict ensued. General Washington marched with his main body to support his detachment, but on his advance the British retired into their works at Kingsbridge.

Having failed in his design of surprising the British posts, general Washington withdrew to Valentine's Hill, and afterwards to Dobb's Ferry. While encamped there, on the 6th of July, the van of the long-expected French reinforcements was seen winding down the neighbouring heights. The arrival of those friendly strangers elevated the minds of the Americans, who received them with sincere congratulations. General Washington laboured, by personal attentions, to conciliate the good will of his allies, and used all the means in his power to prevent those mutual jealousies and irritations which frequently prevail between troops of different nations serving in the same army. An attack on New York was still meditated, and every exertion made to prepare for its execution; but with the determination, if it should prove impracticable, vigorously to prosecute some more attainable object.

On the evening of the 21st of July, the greater part

of the American and part of the French troops left their encampment; and, marching rapidly during the night, appeared in order of battle before the British works at Kingsbridge, at four next morning. Generals Washington and Rochambeau, with the general officers and engineers, viewed the British lines, in their whole extent, from right to left, and the same was again done next morning. But, on the afternoon of the 23d, they returned to their former encampment, without having made any attempt on the British works.

At that time the new levies arrived slowly in the American camp; and many of those who were sent were mere boys, utterly unfit for active service. The several states discovered much backwardness in complying with the requisitions of congress, so that there was reason to apprehend that the number of troops necessary for besieging New York could not be procured. This made general Washington turn his thoughts more seriously to the southward than he had hitherto done: but all his movements confirmed sir Henry Clinton in the belief that an attack on New York was in contemplation. As the British commander-in-chief, however, at that time received about 3000 troops from Europe, he thought himself able to defend his post, without withdrawing any part of the force from Virginia. Therefore he countermanded the requisition which he had before sent to earl Cornwallis for part of the troops under his command. The troops were embarked before the arrival of the counter order; and of their embarkation the marquis de la Fayette sent notice to general Washington. On the reception of new instructions, however, as formerly mentioned, they were re-landed, and remained in Virginia.

No great operation could be undertaken against the British armies, so long as their navy had the undisputed command of the coast, and of the great navigable rivers. The Americans had accordingly made an earnest application to the court of France for such a fleet as might be capable of keeping in check the British navy in those

seas, and of affording effectual assistance to the land forces. That application was not unsuccessful; and, towards the middle of August, the agreeable information was received of the approach of a powerful French fleet to the American coast.

Early in March, the count de Grasse sailed from Brest with twenty-five ships of the line, five of which were destined for the East, and twenty for the West Indies. After an indecisive encounter, in the Straits of St. Lucie, with sir Samuel Hood, whom sir George Rodney, the British admiral in the West Indies, had detached to intercept him, count de Grasse formed a junction with the ships of his sovereign on that station, and had a fleet superior to that of the British in the West Indies. De Grasse gave the Americans notice that he would visit their coast in the month of August, and take his station in Chesapeake Bay; but that his continuance there could only be of short duration. This despatch at once determined general Washington's resolution with respect to the main point of attack; and, as it was necessary that the projected operation should be accomplished within a very limited time, prompt decision and indefatigable exertion were indispensable. Though it was now finally resolved that Virginia should be the grand scene of action, yet it was prudent to conceal to the last moment this determination from sir Henry Clinton, and still to maintain the appearance of threatening New York.

The defence of the strong posts on the Hudson or North River was intrusted to general Heath, who was instructed to protect the adjacent country as far as he was able; and for that purpose a respectable force was put under his command. Every preparation of which circumstances admitted was made to facilitate the march to the southward. General Washington was to take the command of the expedition, and to employ in it all the French troops, and a strong detachment of the American army.

On the 19th of August, a considerable corps was ordered to cross the Hudson at Dobb's Ferry, and to take

a position between Springfield and Chatham, where they were directed to cover some bakehouses, which it was rumoured were to be immediately constructed in the vicinity of those places, in order to encourage the belief that there the troops intended to establish a permanent post. On the 20th and 21st the main body of the Americans passed the river at King's Ferry; but the French made a longer circuit, and did not complete the passage till the 25th. Desirous of concealing his object as long as possible, general Washington continued his march some time in such a direction as still to keep up the appearance of threatening New York. When concealment was no longer practicable, he marched southward with the utmost celerity. His movements had been of such a doubtful nature, that sir Henry Clinton, it is said, was not convinced of his real destination till he crossed the Delaware.

Great exertions had been made to procure funds for putting the army in motion; but, after exhausting every other resource, general Washington was obliged to have recourse to count Rochambeau for a supply of cash, which he received.

On the 30th of August, at three in the afternoon, the combined American and French armies entered Philadelphia, where they were received with ringing of bells, firing of guns, bonfires, illuminations at night, and every demonstration of joy. Meanwhile count de Grasse, with 3000 troops on board, sailed from Cape François with a valuable fleet of merchantmen, which he conducted out of danger, and then steered for Chesapeake Bay with twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates. Towards the end of August he cast anchor just within the capes extending across from Cape Henry to the middle ground. There an officer from the marquis de la Fayette waited on the count, and gave him full information concerning the posture of affairs in Virginia, and the intended plan of operations against the British army in that state.

Earl Cornwallis was diligently fortifying himself at York and Gloucester; the marquis de la Fayette was

in a position on James River to prevent his escape into North Carolina, and the combined army was hastening southward to attack him. In order to co-operate against lord Cornwallis, De Grasse detached four ships of the line and some frigates to block up the entrance of York River, and to carry the land forces which he had brought with him, under the marquis de St. Simon, to La Fayette's camp. The rest of his fleet remained at the entrance of the bay.

Sir George Rodney, who commanded the British fleet in the West Indies, was not ignorant that the count intended to sail for America; but, knowing that the merchant vessels which he convoyed from Cape François were loaded with valuable cargoes, the British admiral believed that he would send the greater part of his fleet along with them to Europe, and would visit the American coast with a small squadron only. Accordingly, sir George Rodney detached sir Samuel Hood with fourteen sail of the line to America, as a sufficient force to counteract the operations of the French in that quarter. Admiral Hood reached the Capes of Virginia on the 25th of August, a few days before De Grasse entered the bay; and, finding no enemy there, sailed for Sandyhook, where he arrived on the 28th of August.

Admiral Graves, who had succeeded admiral Arbuthnot in the command of the British fleet on the American station, was then lying at New York with seven sail of the line; but two of his ships had been damaged in a cruise near Boston, and were under repair. At the same time that admiral Hood gave information of the expected arrival of De Grasse on the American coast, notice was received of the sailing of De Barras with his fleet from Newport. Admiral Graves, therefore, without waiting for his two ships which were under repair, put to sea on the 31st of August, with nineteen sail of the line, and steered to the southward.

On reaching the Capes of the Chesapeake early on the morning of the 5th of September, he discovered the French fleet, consisting of twenty-four ships of the line,

lying at anchor in the entrance of the bay. Neither admiral had any previous knowledge of the vicinity of the other till the fleets were actually seen. The British stretched into the bay; and soon as count de Grasse ascertained their hostile character, he ordered his ships to slip their cables, form the line as they could come up, without regard to their specified stations, and put to sea. The British fleet entering the bay, and the French leaving it, they were necessarily sailing in different directions: but admiral Graves put his ships on the same tack with the French; and, about four in the afternoon, a battle began between the van and centre of the fleets, which continued till night. Both sustained considerable damage. The fleets continued in sight of each other for five days: but De Grasse's object was not to fight unless to cover Chesapeake Bay; and admiral Graves, owing to the inferiority of his force and the crippled state of several of his ships, was unable to compel him to renew the engagement.

On the 10th, count de Grasse bore away for the Chesapeake, and anchored within the capes next day, when he had the satisfaction to find that admiral de Barras, with his fleet from Newport and fourteen transports, laden with heavy artillery and other military stores for carrying on a siege, had safely arrived during his absence. That officer sailed from Newport on the 25th of August, and, making a long circuit to avoid the British, entered the bay while the contending fleets were at sea. Admiral Graves followed the French fleet to the Chesapeake; but, on arriving there, he found the entrance guarded by a force with which he was unable to contend. He then sailed for New York, and left count de Grasse in the undisputed possession of the bay.

While these naval operations were going on, the land forces were not less actively employed in the prosecution of their respective purposes. The immediate aim of the one party was to overwhelm earl Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, that of the other to rescue him from their grasp. As soon as Sir Henry Clinton was con-

vinced of general Washington's intention of proceeding to the southward, with a view to bring him back, he employed Arnold, with a sufficient naval and military force, on an expedition against New London. Arnold passed from Long Island, and on the forenoon of the 6th of September landed his troops on both sides of the harbour; those on the New London side being under his own immediate orders, and those on the Groton side commanded by lieutenant-colonel Eyre. As the works at New London were very imperfect, no vigorous resistance was there made, and the place was taken possession of with little loss. But Fort Griswalde, on the Groton side, was in a more finished state, and the small garrison made a desperate defence. The British entered the fort at the point of the bayonet; when, though opposition ceased, a murderous carnage ensued. Few Americans had fallen before the British entered the works, but eighty-five were killed, sixty wounded, most of them mortally, and the remainder, seventy in number, were made prisoners. The loss of the British was considerable. A great quantity of valuable property was destroyed, and the town much injured.

The loss sustained by the Americans at New London was great; but that predatory incursion had no effect in diverting general Washington from his purpose, or in retarding his march southward. From Philadelphia the allied armies pursued their route, partly to the head of Elk River, which falls into the northern extremity of Chesapeake Bay, and partly to Baltimore, at which places they embarked on board of transports furnished by the French fleet, and the last division of them landed at Williamsburgh on the 25th of September. Generals Washington, Rochambeau, and their attendants, proceeded to the same place by land, and reached it ten days before the troops. Virginia had suffered extremely in the course of the campaign: the inhabitants were clamorous for the appearance of the commander-in-chief in his native state, and hailed his arrival with acclamations of joy.

Generals Washington and Rochambeau immediately repaired on board De Grasse's ship, in order to concert a joint plan of operations against earl Cornwallis. De Grasse, convinced that every exertion would be made to relieve his lordship, and being told that admiral Digby had arrived at New York with a reinforcement of six ships of the line, expected to be attacked by a force little inferior to his own; and deeming the station which he then occupied unfavourable to a naval engagement, he was strongly inclined to leave the bay, and to meet the enemy in the open sea. General Washington, fully aware of all the casualties which might occur to prevent his return, and to defeat the previous arrangements, used every argument to dissuade the French admiral from his purpose, and prevailed with him to remain in the bay.

As count de Grasse could continue only a short time on that station, every exertion was made to proceed against lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, a small village on the southern bank of the river York, in which ships of the line can ride in perfect safety. A long peninsular tract of land, only eight miles broad, lies between James and York Rivers. Opposite Yorktown is Gloucester Point, which projects considerably into the river, the breadth of which at that place does not exceed a mile. Earl Cornwallis had taken possession of both these places, and diligently fortified them. The communication between them was commanded by his batteries, and by some ships of war which lay in the river under cover of his guns. The main body of his army was encamped near Yorktown, beyond some outer redoubts and field-works calculated to retard the approach of an enemy. Colonel Tarleton, with 600 or 700 men, occupied Gloucester Point.

The combined army, amounting to upwards of 11,000 men, exclusive of the Virginia militia, was assembled in the vicinity of Williamsburgh; and on the morning of the 28th of September marched by different routes towards Yorktown. About mid-day the heads of the columns reached the ground assigned them; and, after

driving in the outposts and some cavalry, encamped for the night. The next day was employed in viewing the British works, and in arranging the plan of attack. At the same time that the combined army encamped before Yorktown, the French fleet anchored at the mouth of the river, and completely prevented the British from escaping by water, as well as from receiving supplies or reinforcements in that way. The legion of Lauzun and a brigade of militia, amounting to upwards of 4000 men, commanded by the French general De Choisé, were sent across the river to watch Gloucester Point, and to enclose the British on that side.

On the 30th Yorktown was invested. The French troops formed the left wing of the combined army, extending from the river above the town to a morass in front of it: the Americans composed the right wing, and occupied the ground between the morass and the river below the town. Till the 6th of October, the besieging army was assiduously employed in disembarking its heavy artillery and military stores, and in conveying them to camp from the landing place in James River, a distance of six miles.

On the night of the 6th, the first parallel was begun, 600 yards from the British works. The night was dark, rainy, and well adapted for such a service; and in the course of it the besiegers did not lose a man. Their operations seem not to have been suspected by the besieged till daylight disclosed them in the morning, when the trenches were so far advanced as in a good measure to cover the workmen from the fire of the garrison. By the afternoon of the 9th, the batteries were completed, notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition from the besieged; and immediately opened on the town. From that time an incessant cannonade was kept up; and the continual discharge of shot and shells from twenty-four and eighteen-pounders, and ten-inch mortars, damaged the unfinished works on the left of the town, silenced the guns mounted on them, and occasioned a considerable loss of men. Some of the shot and

shells from the batteries passed over the town, reached the shipping in the harbour, and set on fire the Charon of forty-four guns, and three large transports, which were entirely consumed.

On the night of the 11th, the besiegers, labouring with indefatigable perseverance, began their second parallel, 300 yards nearer the British works than the first; and the three succeeding days were assiduously employed in completing it. During that interval the fire of the garrison was more destructive than at any other period of the siege. The men in the trenches were particularly annoyed by two redoubts towards the left of the British works, and about 200 yards in front of them. Of these it was necessary to gain possession; and on the 14th preparations were made to carry them both by storm. In order to avail himself of the spirit of emulation which existed between the troops of the two nations, and to avoid any cause of jealousy to either, the attack of the one redoubt was committed to the French; and that of the other to the Americans. The latter were commanded by the marquis de la Fayette; and the former by the baron de Viominel.

On the evening of the 14th, as soon as it was dark, the parties marched to the assault with unloaded arms. The redoubt which the Americans attacked was defended by a major, some inferior officers, and forty-five privates. The assailants advanced with such rapidity without returning a shot to the heavy fire with which they were received, that in a few minutes they were in possession of the work, having had eight men killed, and twenty-eight wounded in the attack. Eight British privates were killed; the major, a captain, an ensign, and seventeen privates were made prisoners. The rest escaped. Although the Americans were highly exasperated by the recent massacre of their countrymen in Fort Griswalde by Arnold's detachment, yet not a man of the British was injured after resistance ceased. Retaliation had been talked of, but was not exercised.

The French party advanced with equal courage and

rapidity, and were successful; but as the fortification which they attacked was occupied by a greater force, the defence was more vigorous, and the loss of the assailants more severe. There were 120 men in the redoubt; of whom eighteen were killed, and forty-two taken prisoners: the rest made their escape. The French lost nearly 100 men killed or wounded. During the night these two redoubts were included in the second parallel; and, in the course of next day, some howitzers were placed on them, which in the afternoon opened on the besieged.

Earl Cornwallis and his garrison had done all that brave men could do to defend their post. But the industry of the besiegers was persevering, and their approaches rapid. The condition of the British was becoming desperate. In every quarter their works were torn to pieces by the fire of the assailants. The batteries already playing upon them had nearly silenced all their guns; and the second parallel was about to open on them, which in a few hours would render the place untenable.

Owing to the weakness of his garrison, occasioned by sickness and the fire of the besiegers, lord Cornwallis could not spare large sallying parties; but in the present distressing crisis, he resolved to make every effort to impede the progress of the enemy, and to preserve his post to the last extremity. For this purpose, a little before daybreak on the morning of the 16th of October, about 350 men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, sallied out against two batteries, which seemed in the greatest state of forwardness. They attacked with great impetuosity; killed or wounded a considerable number of the French troops who had charge of the works, spiked eleven guns, and returned with little loss. This exploit was highly honourable to the officers and men who performed it; but was of no permanent advantage to the garrison; for the guns, having been hastily spiked, were soon again rendered fit for service.

About four in the afternoon several batteries of the second parallel opened on the garrison, and it was obvious that, in the course of next day, all the batteries of that parallel, mounting a most formidable artillery, would be ready to play on the town. The shattered works of the garrison were in no condition to sustain such a tremendous fire. In the whole front which was attacked the British could not show a single gun, and their shells were nearly exhausted. In this extremity, earl Cornwallis formed the desperate resolution of crossing the river during the night with his effective force, and attempting to escape to the northward. His plan was to leave behind his sick, baggage, and all incumbrances; to attack De Choisé, who commanded on the Gloucester side, with his whole force; to mount his own infantry, partly with the hostile cavalry, which he had no doubt of seizing, and partly with such horses as he might find by the way; to hasten towards the fords of the great rivers in the upper country, and then, turning northward, to pass through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and join the army at New York. The plan was hazardous, and presented little prospect of success; but in the forlorn circumstances of the garrison, any thing that offered a glimpse of hope was reckoned preferable to the humiliation of an immediate surrender.

In prosecution of this perilous enterprise, the light infantry, most of the guards, and a part of the 23d regiment, embarked in boats, passed the river, and landed at Gloucester Point before midnight. A storm then arose, which rendered the return of the boats and the transportation of the rest of the troops equally impracticable. In that divided state of the British forces, the morning of the 17th of October dawned, when the batteries of the combined armies opened on the garrison at Yorktown. As the attempt to escape was entirely defeated by the storm, the troops that had been carried to Gloucester Point were brought back in the course of the forenoon, without much loss, though the passage was exposed to the artillery of the besiegers. The British works were

in ruins; the garrison was weakened by disease and death, and exhausted by incessant fatigue. Every ray of hope was extinguished. It would have been madness any longer to attempt to defend the post, and to expose the brave garrison to the danger of an assault, which would soon have been made on the place.

At ten in the forenoon of the 17th, earl Cornwallis sent out a flag of truce, with a letter to general Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, in order to give time to adjust terms for the surrender of the forts at Yorktown and Gloucester Point. To this letter the American general immediately returned an answer, expressing his ardent desire to spare the further effusion of blood, and his readiness to listen to such terms as were admissible; but that he could not consent to lose time in fruitless negotiations, and desired that, previous to the meeting of commissioners, his lordship's proposals should be transmitted in writing, for which purpose a suspension of hostilities for two hours should be granted.

The terms offered by lord Cornwallis, although not all deemed admissible, were such as induced the opinion that no great difficulty would occur in adjusting the conditions of capitulation; and the suspension of hostilities was continued through the night. Meanwhile, in order to avoid the delay of useless discussion, general Washington drew up and transmitted to earl Cornwallis such articles as he was willing to grant, informing his lordship that, if he approved of them, commissioners might be immediately appointed to reduce them to form. Accordingly, viscount Noailles and lieutenant-colonel Laurens, whose father was then a prisoner in the Tower of London, on the 18th met colonel Dundas and major Ross of the British army at Moore's house, in the rear of the first parallel. They prepared a rough draught, but were unable definitively to arrange the terms of capitulation. The draught was to be submitted to earl Cornwallis: but general Washington, resolved to admit of no delay, directed the articles to be transcribed; and,

on the morning of the 19th, sent them to his lordship, with a letter expressing his expectation that they would be signed by eleven, and that the garrison would march out at two in the afternoon. Finding that no better terms could be obtained, earl Cornwallis submitted to a painful necessity; and, on the 19th of October, surrendered the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester Point to the combined armies of America and France, on condition that his troops should receive the same honours of war which had been granted to the garrison of Charlestown, when it surrendered to sir Henry Clinton. The army, artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and public stores of every description, were surrendered to general Washington; the ships in the harbour and the seamen, to count de Grasse.

Earl Cornwallis wished to obtain permission for his European troops to return home, on condition of not serving against America, France, or their allies during the war, but this was refused; and it was agreed that they should remain prisoners of war in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, accompanied by a due proportion of officers for their protection and government. The British general was also desirous of securing from punishment such Americans as had joined the royal standard; but this was refused, on the plea that it was a point which belonged to the civil authority, and on which the military power was not competent to decide. But the end was gained in an indirect way; for earl Cornwallis was permitted to send the Bonetta sloop of war unsearched to New York, with despatches to the commander-in-chief, and to put on board as many soldiers as he thought proper, to be accounted for in any subsequent exchange. This was understood to be a tacit permission to send off the most obnoxious of the Americans, which was accordingly done.

The officers and soldiers were allowed to retain their private property. Such officers as were not required to remain with the troops were permitted to return to Europe, or to reside in any part of America not in pos-

session of the British troops. A considerable number of negro slaves had fled from their masters and gone over to the royal army: these the Americans resolved to recover; but, deeming it indecorous to demand the restitution of slaves while they themselves were fighting for liberty, they expressed their claim in general language, and stipulated that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the states should be subject to be reclaimed. The garrison marched out of the town with colours cased, and with the drums beating a British or German march. General Lincoln was appointed to receive the surrender in precisely the same way in which his own had been received at Charlestown. Exclusive of seamen, nearly 7000 persons surrendered, about 4000 of whom were fit for duty. During the siege, the garrison lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, 552 men.

By the surrender of the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, the Americans gained possession of a large train of artillery, consisting of seventy-five brass and sixty-nine iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars, with a considerable quantity of arms, ammunition, military stores, and provisions. One frigate, two ships of twenty guns each, a number of transports and other vessels, and about 1500 seamen, surrendered to count de Grasse, his most Christian majesty's admiral. The combined army at Yorktown may be estimated at 16,000 men; consisting of 7000 French, 5500 continentals, and 3500 militia. Their loss during the siege amounted to about 300 killed and wounded.

General Washington felt all the importance of the conquest which he had achieved. His troops had displayed indefatigable industry joined with much bravery; and, in general orders of the 20th, he acknowledged their merits, thanking all the officers and men for their services. The engineers and artillerymen had particularly distinguished themselves, and were mentioned in terms of high commendation. The general offered his best acknowledgments to count de Rochambeau and his

officers and men: the important co-operation of count de Grasse was also duly appreciated. The capture of earl Cornwallis and his army raised the shout of triumph and joy throughout America, particularly in Virginia: it was like the exultation of a pastoral people over the death of a lion which had cruelly ravaged their flocks, and spread terror through their dwellings.

The unfortunate are commonly blamed, and their want of success imputed to misconduct. From such censure earl Cornwallis has not escaped, although it is difficult to perceive any distinct ground for blaming his military career. It is easy to find fault on the retrospect of a series of events after they are past, when the whole can be contemplated in all their bearings and relations; but it is not so easy to discern the wisest course while the events are in progress and the issue uncertain. Concerning the movement of earl Cornwallis from Ramsay's Mills to Cross Creek and Wilmington, different opinions may be entertained; but his lordship was strongly drawn towards Virginia by the force acting there under generals Arnold and Philips; and, after he entered the province, he did all that activity and bravery could perform to attain his end. If he had been to leave Virginia at all, and proceed to the southward, the time for beginning that movement was when he found it expedient to retire from the vicinity of Albemarle Court-house; but then such a step would, in all probability, have been generally condemned, and would certainly have been disagreeable to the commander-in-chief, who purposed to carry on vigorous operations in that quarter.

After earl Cornwallis took possession of Yorktown, in obedience, as he thought, to his orders, retreat became nearly impracticable: for the marquis de la Fayette took post on James River, and was prepared to dispute his passage southward; and, although he had escaped that nobleman, yet he would have been pursued and also obliged to encounter general Greene at the passage of the great rivers which lay between him and Charlestown. Besides, he was encouraged to remain in Virginia by the

promise of assistance, which sir Henry Clinton was unable to afford in time to save him.

The attack on earl Cornwallis was conceived in the true spirit of military enterprise; but a concurrence of many favourable circumstances was necessary in order to its successful execution. It was a combined effort by sea and land, carried on by different leaders, and liable to the uncertainty of winds and waves. Superiority by sea was indispensably requisite; and the whole scheme was endangered by the appearance of admiral Hood at Chesapeake Bay. The arrival of De Barras, the return of De Grasse after his encounter with admiral Hood, all combined against the British, who, after behaving like brave men, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Sir Henry Clinton was not ignorant of the perilous situation of earl Cornwallis, and was anxious to relieve him: but the fleet had sustained considerable damage in the battle with De Grasse, and some time was necessarily spent in repairing it. During that interval, four ships of the line arrived from Europe and two from the West Indies. At length the commander-in-chief embarked with 7000 of his best troops, but was unable to sail from Sandyhook till the 19th, the day on which lord Cornwallis surrendered. The fleet, consisting of twenty-five ships of the line, two vessels of fifty guns each, and eight frigates, arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th, when the commander-in-chief had the mortification to be informed of the event of the 19th. He remained on the coast, however, till the 29th, when, every doubt being removed concerning the capitulation of earl Cornwallis, whose relief was the sole object of the expedition, he returned to New York.

While sir Henry Clinton continued off the Chesapeake, the French fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, satisfied with the advantage already gained, lay at anchor in the bay without making any movement whatever. The grand error in the whole of this trans-

action, was the not sending a larger fleet from the West Indies than that which sailed under admiral Hood.

General Washington used all his influence to detain count de Grasse some time longer on the coast, to assist in the reduction of Charlestown; but the orders of his court, ulterior projects, and his engagements with the Spaniards, put it out of the power of the French admiral to continue so long in America as was required. He, however, remained some days in the bay, in order to cover the embarkation of the troops and of the ordnance to be conveyed by water to the head of the Elk. Some brigades proceeded by land to join their companions at that place. Some cavalry marched to join general Greene; but the French troops, under count Rochambeau, remained in Virginia, to be in readiness to march to the south or north, as the circumstances of the next campaign might require. On the 27th the troops of St. Simon began to embark, in order to return to the West Indies; and early in November count de Grasse sailed for that quarter. General Washington proceeded to Philadelphia, where he arrived on the 27th of November, and the marquis de la Fayette returned to Europe.

The capture of earl Cornwallis was the most decisive event of this unhappy war. The military operations in America were afterwards languid and desultory; few in number, and unimportant in their nature; injurious or fatal, indeed, to individuals, but of little public advantage or loss to either of the contending parties.

While general Washington was marching against earl Cornwallis, the loyalists of North Carolina, under M'Neil and M'Dougall, made themselves masters of Hillsborough, and took a number of prisoners. M'Neil and some of his followers were killed in a rencounter with the friends of congress. M'Dougall was pursued; but effected his escape with a number of prisoners to Wilmington.

Late in October major Ross made an incursion into the country on the Mohawk at the head of 500 men,

regulars, rangers, and Indians. Colonel Willet, with about an equal force, found him at John's-town. An engagement ensued, when part of the Americans fled without any apparent cause; but as the rest maintained their ground, the British retreated. Willet, with a select party, pursued them; and, on the morning of the 30th, overtook their rear at a ford on Canada Creek. He immediately attacked them, killed a number, and put the rest to flight. Among the slain was Walter Butler, who perpetrated the massacre at Cherry Valley. He asked quarter; but was reminded of Cherry Valley, and instantly despatched.

CHAP. XI.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SURRENDER OF YORKTOWN. — MEETING OF PARLIAMENT. — CASE OF CAPTAIN HADDY. — SIR GUY CARLETON SUCCEEDS SIR HENRY CLINTON. — PACIFIC DISPOSITIONS. — SOUTHERN STATES. — PEACE RESTORED. — AMERICAN ARMY. — CONCLUSION.

THE convention of Saratoga was a severe blow to the British arms; but the surrender of earl Cornwallis at Yorktown was still more decisive. It produced a great change in America, and gave a new and more cheering aspect to the affairs of the Union. In the early part of the year, the cause of the states was in a drooping condition, and American freedom seemed verging to ruin. Congress was surrounded with embarrassments, and victory had fled from their standards. The success of Morgan at the Cow-Pens and the exertions of Greene dissipated the gloom in the south; but, in the middle and northern provinces nothing had occurred to awaken hope and stimulate exertion. The capture, however, of earl Cornwallis and his army, which was achieved by a remarkable concurrence of good conduct and fortunate circumstances, altered the face of things. Congress, the

state governments, and all classes of the people, exulted with joy. A brighter sun shone on their heads, elevated their hopes, and invigorated their exertions. The clamours of the discontented were silenced, the hearts of the desponding re-animated, and the wavering confirmed in their attachment to the Union. A new impulse was given to the public mind; but, above all, the ray of peace, which seemed now to burst through the gloom of war, was grateful to their souls.

If the effects of the surrender at Yorktown were great in America, they were not less in Europe. The government and people of Britain entertained the most sanguine hopes from the operations of the army in Virginia. The expense of the war was heavy, and every year increasing. The people murmured under the load; but were encouraged to bear with patience, in the hope of being soon relieved, and ultimately reimbursed by the exclusive trade of the subjugated provinces. Many flattered themselves that the campaign in Virginia would annihilate the power of Congress, and put an end to the contest.

In the midst of these fond anticipations, the news of the surrender at Yorktown arrived, and struck both the ministry and people with amazement and dismay. The blow was equally severe and unexpected. It laid their towering hopes in the dust, and filled them with painful apprehensions. They now discovered, what former experience had been unable to teach them, that a country may be overrun, but cannot easily be subdued, while the minds of the people continue hostile. They who before disapproved of the war now spoke of it in terms of the strongest reprobation, and many who formerly had given it their zealous support began to express a desire of peace. The public mind underwent a great change, and sentiments which not long before met only with scorn and detestation became popular and fashionable; such a fluctuating thing is public opinion.

Parliament met on the 27th of November, and in the king's speech the disasters in America were not dis-

sembled, but were urged as a motive for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Addresses, in the usual form, were moved; which brought on animated debates, in which some of the ministry expressed their intention of altering the plan of the war, and of merely retaining possession of those posts which they held in America, and of directing their main efforts against France, Spain, and Holland. In both houses of parliament the addresses were carried by large majorities. About that time Mr. Laurens, who had been detained a close prisoner in the Tower, of which earl Cornwallis was governor, was released.

Though ministry carried the address by triumphant majorities, yet the popular feeling became strong against the continuance of the war. The lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, a great influential body, whose sentiments serve as a sort of political barometer, the indications of which it is imprudent to disregard, voted an address favourable to peace, which, owing to a difference on a point of ceremony, was not presented, but it was published. All classes became weary of the protracted struggle; the house of commons began to waver, and, on the 27th of February, the opposition carried an address against the prolongation of the war in America.

We now return to America, where the first thing that meets us is one of those painful incidents which result from the infuriated passions engendered by civil commotions. On the 24th of March, captain Haddy, who commanded the troops in a block-house on the river Tom in New Jersey, was attacked, overpowered and made prisoner by a party of loyalists from New York. In a few days afterwards, they led him out and hanged him, with a label on his breast declaring that he was put to death in retaliation for some of their brethren who had suffered a similar fate. General Washington took up the matter seriously; submitted it to his officers, laid it before congress, and wrote to the British general, demanding that the perpetrators of the horrid deed

should be given up, and threatening retaliation in case of refusal. The British general ordered a court-martial to enquire into the offence. It acquitted the person accused. General Washington ordered a British prisoner of equal rank with Haddy to be chosen by lot, and sent to Philadelphia, that he might suffer as a retaliatory victim. The lot fell on captain Asgill, an English youth of only nineteen years of age, and respectably connected. Great interest was made to save the life of this young gentleman: he was ultimately set free; but was long kept in a state of painful suspense.

During winter, the states laboured to prepare for another campaign; but, owing to the exhaustion of the country, and the backwardness of the people to make further sacrifices, the preparations went on slowly. Every one wished to devolve the burden on his neighbour, and every state seemed afraid of bearing more than its share of the war. Notwithstanding the late success in the southern states, and the brilliant issue of the campaign in Virginia, there was much disinclination to vigorous exertions. The troops were few in number, and almost destitute of every necessary. Many of them were almost naked, and nearly all were ill fed. Every department was without money and without credit. Discontent was general among the officers and soldiers, and severe measures were necessary to check a mutinous spirit in the army. Fortunately for America, while the resources of congress were exhausted, and every thing was hastening to ruin, the people of Britain also had become weary of the war, and it was found expedient to change the ministry. The new servants of the crown did not inherit the military propensities of their predecessors, but were inclined to conciliation and peace.

One of the last acts of the late administration was to appoint sir Guy Carleton, afterwards lord Dorchester, commander-in-chief in America, in the room of sir Henry Clinton; and the new ministry continued him in that high office. He took the command at New York

early in May; and being also, in conjunction with admiral Digby, appointed a commissioner to negotiate a peace, he soon communicated to general Washington copies of the votes of parliament respecting peace; and also a bill which had been introduced by ministry to authorise his majesty to conclude a peace with the colonies of North America. Those papers, he said, manifested the dispositions of the government and people of Britain towards America; and if they were met with a corresponding temper, both inclination and duty would lead him to act in the spirit of conciliation. He had addressed to congress, he said, a letter containing the same communications; and he requested of general Washington a passport for the person who was to deliver it.

The American commander immediately forwarded the communications to congress; but as the bill to enable the king to conclude peace with America had not then passed into a law; as there was no assurance that the present commissioners were empowered to offer any other terms than those which had been already rejected; as congress was suspicious that the offers were merely intended to amuse and put them off their guard, that they might be successfully attacked when reposing in security; and as they were resolved to enter into no separate treaty, the passport was refused. Both armies, however, lay inactive. There was no peace, and there was no war. Sir Guy Carleton undertook no offensive operation; and the army of general Washington was too feeble to attack New York. On the Hudson, the summer passed away in inactivity.

Early in August, general Washington received a letter from sir Guy Carleton and admiral Digby, informing him that negotiations for a general peace were begun at Paris; that the independence of the Thirteen United States would be acknowledged; that Mr. Laurens was set at liberty; and that passports were preparing for such Americans as had been hitherto detained prisoners in Britain. This letter was soon followed by another from sir Guy

Carleton, in which he declared that he no longer saw any object of contest, and therefore disapproved of the continuance of hostilities either by sea or land, as tending to increase the miseries of individuals, without any public advantage to either party. He added, that, in consequence of this opinion, he had restrained the practice of detaching Indian parties against the frontiers of the United States, and had recalled those which were in the field. Those communications seem to have awakened the jealousy of the French minister in America; and, in order to allay his suspicions, congress renewed its resolution not to enter into any discussion for a pacification but in concert with his most Christian majesty.

Although the inactivity which prevailed in the north was, in a certain measure, communicated to the southern army, yet some desultory hostilities happened in that quarter. General St. Clair, who conducted the reinforcements from Yorktown towards the south, reached general Greene's head-quarters early in January. He had been ordered to take the post at Wilmington in his way; but the British garrison evacuated that place before his arrival, and he met with no detention there.

St. Clair experienced no hostile interruption; the number of his troops, however, was so much diminished by the casualties of a long march, that his reinforcement did little more than supply the place in Greene's army of those soldiers who had been entitled to their discharge on the last day of December. But feeble as the southern army was, yet, on St. Clair's arrival, general Greene detached general Wayne across the Santee, to protect the state of Georgia. On his approach, general Clarke, who commanded the British troops in that province, amounting to about 1000 regular soldiers, besides militia, concentrated his force in the town of Savannah. Wayne insulted his outposts, and some sharp but useless skirmishes ensued. On the 11th of July, the garrison evacuated the town of Savannah, and retired from the province.

General Leslie commanded in Charlestown, and held

the place till the 14th of December, though the intention of evacuating it was announced in the general orders of the 7th of August. In that interval, general Leslie humanely proposed to general Greene a suspension of hostilities; to which the stern and inflexible American did not consider himself empowered to accede. In the same spirit of conciliation, general Leslie offered full payment for rice and other provisions sent into the town, but threatened to take them without compensation if withheld. General Greene, suspecting that it was intended to collect a large quantity of rice in Charlestown to supply the army while it acted against the French islands in the West Indies, declined the arrangement. The consequence was, that the British made some foraging incursions into the country, and skirmishes ensued. In themselves these skirmishes were unimportant; but they derived a lively interest from the death of lieutenant-colonel Laurens, who fell in one of them, to the deep regret of his countrymen, among whom he was universally esteemed and beloved.

While the Americans slumbered on their arms, the war which their quarrel had engendered was actively carried on in other quarters of the world. In the West Indies the French fleet had long been successful; but, on the 12th of April, count de Grasse was entirely defeated and taken prisoner by admiral Rodney, which restored the balance to a kind of equilibrium, and threatened a prolongation of the struggle. In the month of July, the French army in Virginia marched northward, and reached the states of New England in October. It was given out that they were to winter there; but the real intention was to transport them to the West Indies, for which purpose the marquis de Vaudreuil, with a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, arrived at Boston on the 10th of August. By the long continuance of the contest, and by mutual reverses, all parties were now become tired of war and desirous of peace. Negotiations for a general pacification were going on at Paris, but were protracted by the mutual jealousies and interfering claims of the

several parties interested. Great Britain admitted the independence of the Thirteen United States, and so removed a great cause of the war; but the boundaries of the states, and their share in the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, were not so easily adjusted, and on both of these points France and Spain seemed unfriendly to the wishes of America.

After a tedious and intricate negotiation, in which the firmness, judgment, and penetration of the American commissioners were exercised, preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 30th of November; and news of the conclusion of a general peace reached the United States early next April.

A line running through the middle of the great lakes and their connecting waters, and from a certain point on the St. Lawrence to the bottom of the bay of Fundy, was agreed to as the northern boundary of the states; and their western frontier was to rest on the Mississippi. It was stipulated that British creditors should be allowed to recover their debts in the United States; that congress should recommend to the several states the restoration of the estates of real British subjects which had been confiscated during the war; and that no further confiscations should be made.

On the 19th of April, 1783, the day which completed the eighth year of the war, the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain was, by order of general Washington, proclaimed in the American camp. A number of negroes, who had once belonged to American citizens, were sent off by the British. This produced an interview between generals Carleton and Washington, at Taapan, on the 6th of May, which ended without any decisive result.

On the 25th of November the British troops evacuated New York, and an American detachment, under general Knox, took possession of the town. General Washington and governor Clinton, accompanied by a number of civil and military officers and respectable citizens, soon afterwards entered the city; and the Americans,

after a struggle which had lasted eight years, gained full and undisputed possession of the provinces.

The independence of the United States was acknowledged, and peace with Great Britain concluded: but the dangers of America were not at an end. She had succeeded in repelling foreign aggression; but was threatened with ruin by internal dissension. In the interval between the cessation of hostilities and the disbanding of the troops, congress found itself in a trying and perilous situation. Their army was in a state of high dissatisfaction and irritation. In October, 1780, a season of danger and alarm, congress promised half-pay to the officers on the conclusion of peace. That promise they now seemed neither very able nor willing to perform. The danger had passed away, and the spirit of liberality, engendered by fear, had evaporated. The state legislatures affected much jealousy of what they called their liberty, but discovered little inclination to fulfil their obligations to those who had been instrumental in establishing it. The chicanery, evasions, and subterfuges even of congress deprived it of the respect and sympathy due to unsullied honour in distress. Spotless integrity is the brightest ornament and best shield of nations, as well as of individuals. The shuffling policy of congress roused the indignation of the officers of the army, many of whom manifested an inclination to procure redress of their own wrongs with the same weapons which had asserted the independence of their country.

In the month of December, 1782, soon after going into winter quarters, the officers presented a memorial and petition to congress, and deputed a committee of their number to call its attention to the subject. They had shed their blood, spent their time, and wasted their substance in the service of their country. Large arrears were due to them, and they had received liberal promises; but there was no certain prospect that the arrears would ever be paid, and there was much reason to suspect that there was no serious intention to perform the promises. After all their sufferings and sacrifices, they

had nothing before them but the melancholy prospect of being discharged without even money to carry them to their respective homes, and of being cast naked on the world, and spending old age in penury and neglect, after having lost the prime of life in vindicating the claims and establishing the independence of an ungrateful people.

To men who had long and zealously served their country in the midst of the greatest hardships and wants, these were irritating considerations. Accordingly, early in March, on receiving a letter from their committee in Philadelphia, purporting that their solicitations had not been successful, meetings of the officers were held to consider what measures should be adopted for obtaining redress of their grievances. An ably written address was circulated through the army, inviting a general meeting of the officers at a given time and place.

"*To the Officers of the Army.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"A fellow-soldier, whose interests and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortunes may be as desperate as yours, would beg leave to address you. Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise; but, though unsupported by both, he flatters himself that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

"Like many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret. He left it, determined to retire from the field, with the necessity that called him to it, and not till then — not till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur,

and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh. But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake desire for opinion, he has till lately, very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped that, as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more than justice, that gratitude, would blaze forth upon those hands which had upheld her, in the darkest stages of her passage, from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched without sinking into cowardice or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you for ever. To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and show the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground upon which we now stand, and from thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment into the unexplored field of expedient. After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach. Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once, — it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war; it has placed her in the chair of independence, and peace returns again — to bless whom? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services? A country courting your return to private life with tears of gratitude and smiles of admiration; longing to divide with you the independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not more

than once suggested your wishes, and made known your wants, to congress?—wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded. And have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice what you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow reply.

"If this then be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate, by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution; and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honour? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of tories and the scorn of whigs; the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity, of the world. Go, starve and be forgotten! But, if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume, whether it be the plain coat of republicanism or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles, awake, attend to your situation, and redress yourselves! If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain, and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.

"I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice, to the fears, of government. Change the milk-and-water

style of your last memorial; assume a bolder tone, decent, but lively, spirited, and determined; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men, who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your last *remonstrance;* for I would no longer give it the suing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of *memorial.* Let it be represented, in language that will neither dishonour you by its rudeness nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by congress, and what has been performed; how long and how patiently you have suffered; how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them, that though you were the first, and would wish to be the last, to encounter danger, though despair itself can never drive you into dishonour, it may drive you from the field; that the wound, often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of malignity from congress now, must operate like the grave, and part you for ever. That, in any political event, the army has its alternative: if peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that, courting the auspices and inviting the directions of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and 'mock when their fear cometh on.' But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable. That while war should continue, you would follow their standard into the field; and when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject, of wonder and applause, — an army victorious over its enemies, victorious over itself."

General Washington's Speech at the Meeting of Officers.

"GENTLEMEN,

"By an anonymous summons an attempt has been made to convene you together; how inconsistent with

the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide. In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart: for, as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance; or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises.

"But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address was drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all the resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberative thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proofs than a reference to the proceedings.

"Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to show upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every oppor-

tunity, consistent with your own honour and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct, therefore, has not evinced to you that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But, as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it; it can scarcely be supposed, at this stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself. But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms, and other property which we leave behind us? or, in this state of hostile preparation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed), to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness?

"If peace takes place, never sheath your swords, says he, until you have obtained full and ample justice. This dreadful alternative, of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe; some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and

military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature?

"But here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observation on the tendency of that writing.

"With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures, I spurn it, as every man, who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot, in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and, from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt; but, like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why, then, should we distrust them; and, in consequence of

that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No; most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself (and I take no merit for giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, and a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me), a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare, in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe to my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

"While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever abilities I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory, you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of congress, that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express

your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

"By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice; you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind—Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

That eloquent and impassioned production greatly increased the sensation which before existed: the crisis was alarming. Even in the army of a firmly established government, such a general spirit of dissatisfaction would have been unpleasant; but in a new, feeble, and tottering government, and in an army ill-trained to strict subordination, the occurrence was far more formidable. The sagacious general Washington clearly saw the danger, and prohibited the proposed meeting; but, deeming it safer to direct and weaken the current than immediately to oppose it, he appointed a similar meeting on a subsequent day. General Gates, as the senior officer of rank, presided. General Washington, who had been diligent in preparing the minds of the officers for the occasion, addressed the assembly, strongly combated the address, and, by his sound reasoning and high influential character, succeeded in dissipating the storm.

These proceedings of the officers induced congress to pay some regard to its promises, and to commute the half-pay for a sum equal to five years' full pay. It was insulted by a body of lately raised troops of Pennsyl-

vania, and much agitation prevailed in the army. But as the dread of foreign enemies subsided, the state governments became careless of the claims and comfort of their defenders. To disband an army in a state of irritation, and to which large arrears were due, many of whom had not money to supply their most pressing wants, or to defray their expenses on the way home, was a dangerous experiment: but it was ultimately executed without any convulsion.

General Washington's military career was now about to close; and, on the 4th of December, he met the principal officers of the army at Frances' tavern. The officers assembled at noon, and their revered and beloved commander soon entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed: filling a glass, and addressing the officers, he said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, and devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been honourable." Having drank, he added, "I cannot come to take each of you by the hand, but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand." In the midst of profound silence, and with the liveliest sensibility and tenderness, each of the officers took him by the hand; and, at the close of the affecting ceremony, they all accompanied him to Whitehall, where a barge was in readiness to carry him across the river. Having embarked, general Washington turned round to his late companions in arms, took off his hat, respectfully bowed to them, and bade them a silent farewell. They returned the compliment, and went back in mute procession to the place where they had assembled.

Congress was then sitting at Annapolis in Maryland; and thither general Washington proceeded, for the purpose of resigning that power which he had so successfully exercised. He remained a few days in Philadelphia, in order to settle his accounts with the treasury; and, on the 19th of December, arrived at Annapolis. At noon, on the 23d, in presence of a numerous com-

pany of spectators, he resigned his commission into the hands of congress; and afterwards retired to his patrimonial mansion at Mount Vernon.

In the course of the revolution, a number of men of no mean abilities arose, both in the military and civil departments; but general Washington appears with pre-eminent lustre among them all; not by the brilliancy of his genius, but by the soundness of his understanding, and the moral dignity of his character. His courage was unquestionable, but it was governed by discretion. He was not remarkable for quickness of perception or apprehension; but, when he had time to deliberate, he was judicious in his decision. His glory, however, lies in the moral excellence of his character, his spotless integrity, disinterested patriotism, general humanity, invincible fortitude, and inflexible perseverance. In trying times, he occupied the most difficult situation in which a man can be placed. At the head of a turbulent soldiery, unaccustomed to military subordination, he was exposed on the one side to the clamours and calumnies of an ignorant and fluctuating populace, who are forward to condemn the wisdom which they have not the capacity to comprehend, and to reprobate plans which do not suit their little interests and feeble judgments. On the other side he was fettered by the presumption of rulers, who were forward to decide on what they did not understand, to enjoin measures the consequences of which they did not foresee, and to dictate on subjects of which they had but a very imperfect knowledge. He was unmoved by the clamours of the former; and he bore, with invincible patience, the aberrations of the latter; he remonstrated and reasoned with them, and often succeeded in setting them right. With a steady hand he steered the vessel amidst the terrors of the storm, and through fearful breakers brought it safe into port. America owes him much, and seems not insensible of the obligation. She has done honour to him and to herself, by calling her capital by his name; but it would be still far more honourable and advan-

tageous to her, were all her people to imitate his virtues, and the character of every American to reflect the moral image of general Washington.

The American war teaches a great lesson of caution and moderation both to the people and to their rulers. It teaches rulers not to turn an obstinately deaf ear to the claims and earnest petitions of a whole people. Compliance with their wishes may be disagreeable; but in some instances sound policy recommends it as the wisest course. By no system of government, perhaps, could the American colonies have been long retained in any thing more than a nominal, and probably expensive, dependence on the British crown. But the devastations and carnage of a war, in which both parties suffered severely, and which only left a costly lesson to posterity, might have been avoided. The loss of life in America may be estimated at 150,000 men, which may be equally divided between the contending parties. Besides the large sums levied in the course of it, the war added about 115,000,000 to the national debt, and nearly 5,000,000 sterling to the annual taxes, of Great Britain; and, after all the sacrifices, sufferings, and incalculable losses of the colonists, it left them burdened with 9,000,000 sterling of public debt.

CHAP. XII.

FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, AND FIRST SESSION OF CONGRESS.

THERE are no people more worthy of liberty, or more capable of using it to advantage, when procured, than those who have won it by the sword. Victory gives, and glory hallows, the patent of independence. Such was the case with the Americans. Whatever degree of humiliation a Briton may feel in perusing the history of their struggle, he must console himself by thinking that the mad policy of England not only freed, but was the best mode of freeing, America; and that it was the immediate cause of that grand political phenomenon which now rose on the other side of the Atlantic, — almost a whole continent constituted as a federative republic.

This republic, however, was not organised at once. It was not like those we read of in ancient history, the product of a legislator's fancy, the work more of imagination than experience. Those were fabrics of art; but the American republic *grew* out of the political wants and tendencies of freemen, shooting forth, and developing itself in solid trunk and goodly branches. A constitution has been compared to an oak, and the absurdity of building one is sufficiently pointed at in the simile. Yet the tardy growth, the long inchoate state, the infancy, in fact, of the American constitution, was made a subject of reproach both then and since; and the government of the United States declared and considered *anarchic,* because not matured in a day.

Certainly, at the close of the war, the country lately freed did present the most disorganised aspect, such, indeed, as in any country of Europe would have produced the most dire and fatal confusion. Nor was there

wanting a certain spirit of selfishness, a desire on the part of state and individual to shift its own burden upon the back of its neighbour. In short, with the enthusiasm of the war evaporated no small portion of the virtues which had marked and supported it. But this, after all, was only natural. We must be contented to see humanity rise above itself upon great occasions and in times of excitement, and to sink to its common level when the sustaining impulse is withdrawn.

Nevertheless there was no adequate reason for that dispirited and disparaging view of American prospects, which was taken not only by the English, but even by the Americans themselves; in which many of her patriots, and even Washington himself, for a moment participated. There was no constitution, and scarcely a government. Considerable laziness and reluctance prevailed among the public, to form or to permit one. But even this was attended with advantage. By the delay, the people were made to see and to feel the ills of being without a government. Hence, they made laws to remedy defects, rather than upon theoretic grounds to anticipate them; and thus they surrendered no portion of individual liberty without being sure of an equivalent.

The first subject that pressed upon the attention of congress, was the debt incurred during the war, and which it was imperative upon them either to fund or pay. The national commerce had been annihilated. To revive it was the first step towards reviving prosperity. But as a preliminary to any commercial arrangements or treaties with foreign powers, a settlement of their own debt was indispensable. In this first step, however, congress immediately felt its utter inefficiency, its incapability of even moving with its actual powers. To the impost laid on during the war, divers states had refused acquiescence. How was that or any tax to be now enforced? Nevertheless a committee was appointed. It drew up a report, which was soon issued, as an address to the several states, praying them to make provision for the national creditors. The address

was received with the same spirit of selfishness which had endangered the commonwealth so lately, by holding out against the claims of the veterans of the war; and as congress had resolved not to raise money from one state till all had consented to the measure, each waited, like the members of a pusillanimous crowd, for its neighbour to commence, and each excused itself by its neighbour's backwardness.

At the same time congress felt its want of authority marring the national interests upon another point. Envoys had been despatched to Europe for the purpose of concluding commercial treaties. England, the first applied to, held off, declaring that congress had not power to conclude one. In vain did Mr. Jefferson argue that the American government had in reality sufficient authority. If it had, it was certainly not very clear; and the British ministry, well pleased at an opportunity to disappoint the United States' envoys, and to flout the inexperience of their government, held firm in its denial.

The states were in the mean time dispensed from coming to a determination respecting raising a general fund, as the envoys of congress had found it necessary to meet pressing demands by a loan. Individuals still smarting from the losses of a war were very willing to throw forward, as it were, the burden of taxes to a future and more prosperous time.

They were disappointed in these selfish calculations. Prosperity came not, nor promised to come. Commerce was not restored. England still kept up her prohibitions or high duties upon all the great exports of America. Nor could France consent to receive them, notwithstanding her own inclination, and all the efforts of Jefferson. To England, and to some relaxation in that country's rigid prohibition, they were obliged to look; and this alone produced the consolidation of the federal government.

England had changed her policy. She had laid aside the sword; but she still carried on, what, to America,

was as destructive, — a commercial war. She monopolised the fisheries, shut out the American ships from her West Indies, and essayed to take to herself the whole carrying trade of her late colonies. Jefferson and Adams laboured in Europe to open markets for their countrymen. They concluded treaties with Portugal, with Sweden, with divers European powers. But shut out from the Mediterranean by the Barbary corsairs; from France, notwithstanding the amity of the countries, by the monopoly of tobacco and other causes; the only alternative left to America was to force England to be equitable. This, however, could not be done by the state legislatures; for if one admitted British ships, whilst the other excluded them, the union of the commonwealth was not only destroyed, but the object of exclusion defeated. Congress in 1784, therefore, demanded powers to exclude generally the vessels of all countries not having treaties of commerce with America. Most of the states acceded to this request; but delays and difficulties intervened; some could not be brought to understand it. Ere it was accepted, the necessity of powers more extended and minute were felt, so that congress made a fresh demand of being permitted to regulate the entire commerce of the republic.

To these commercial difficulties were added political causes of quarrel between England and America. Notwithstanding the express stipulation of the treaty, the British creditors remained still unpaid; and the ministry refused, in consequence, to evacuate the military posts within the north-western frontier of the United States. The fault lay with divers states of the Union, who resisted carrying into effect the honest stipulation of congress.

The progress of the United States was thus effectually arrested. It was in vain that congress or its leading members discussed or passed votes for forming treaties, raising funds, or regulating commerce. It was vain to devise remedies without the power of applying them. Every American of eminence and experience saw the necessity of giving more authority to congress,

of forming a federal head, and giving, in fact, an efficient government to the country.

The foremost in their opinions were the Virginians. Seeing the weakness of congress, this state had early united with Maryland in a prohibitory system. Proving the good effect of this, they had besought the other states to send commissioners to agree upon making general. This proposition, made by Mr. Madison, produced what was called a convention, or a meeting of delegates from five states, at Annapolis, in September, 1786. The assembly soon perceived that unity upon commercial regulations must depend upon the political and fundamental unity of the state, and that the only possibility of agreeing as to a common tariff, was to frame an efficient constitution. For this important task the delegates at Annapolis were not prepared. They declared, however, the necessity of taking such a measure into consideration, and, ere they separated, agreed as to the expediency of calling a more general and solemn meeting of delegates from all the states, to meet in the following year at Philadelphia.

At this period broke forth that political schism, that separation of the Americans into two parties, which had been brooding and preparing since the peace. The war had been a struggle between whig and tory; the supporters of independence on one side, the favourers of monarchy and British connection on the other. By the destruction of the latter, the independents were left alone to split into new parties, as the nature of every political society requires. As these, which were formed on the present occasion, have ever since endured, and as the flags which each then hoisted long continued to float with their ancient principles inscribed, it is indispensable to dwell upon their origin, and also to anticipate a little in marking the essential points, which then and afterwards separated them.

Whatever name or form a nation may please to give the government, or how rigid soever may be its system of equality, there will always be, as long as the right of

property is respected, an upper, a middle, and a lower class. Even in America, notwithstanding the abjuration of all aristocracy, this division existed. Those great men, whose exertions had won the independence of the country, — men who, for the most part, had served the state gratuitously, and who were independent landed proprietors, — formed in reality an aristocracy, which it was difficult not to consider as such: they prevailed in the legislatures, in the conventions, and afterwards in congress.

The middle class, — the men of less distinction and wealth, and merely of local influence, — were jealous of what they deemed an aristocracy; and these men, numerous and powerful in certain states, showed their jealousy by resisting every demand and effort of congress, and by seeking to entrench themselves within their local influence and independence against the chiefs, who laboured for a general and supreme government. Moreover, these were chiefly trading and commercial men, ruined by the war, desperately immersed in debt from efforts to retrieve their positions, and anxious to keep in their own hands the political power; which would enable them to set creditors and tax-gatherers at defiance, to afford themselves the convenience of paper money, and, in short, to consult their own local interests, rather than the general ones.

These selfish reasons, however, were not such as could be conscientiously pleaded. More worthy and specious ones were found, and no doubt felt, for pursuing the same line of conduct. These men announced themselves as lovers of real freedom and equality, — as foes of aristocracy — of strong government, with all its necessary appendages of place, expense, corruption, and arbitrary rule. They sought to keep in the people's hands the power which the people had won, and could not be brought to allow that necessity for delegating authority to a few which the opposite party recommended.

There were some circumstances, — one especially, — which seemed to give a cause to this jealousy entertained

of the known by the unknown, and to the reproach cast upon the former of affecting to be aristocrats. This was the society or order of the Cincinnati, founded at the expiration of the war by the officers of the army. General Washington himself had imprudently sanctioned the institution, and accepted the presidency. It was an order of knighthood, with insignia and distinctive marks of honour. The members were united by periodical meetings, common funds; and, what was still more suspicious, it had been proposed to render its distinctions hereditary. This immediately raised an outcry, was stigmatised as an attempt at aristocracy, and served as a powerful argument in the mouths of the democrats against Washington himself and the notables of the Union. Whatever of aristocratical venom, to use a republican phrase, lurked in the institution, was, however, more than neutralised by the inimitable letter of Dr. Franklin on the subject.

This jealousy felt towards the statesmen of the republic, or towards the upper by the middle class,—if the terms may be allowed,—was likely to operate fatally in marring the project of a constitution, and rendering any innovation for the purpose impracticable; since the dissentient states were resolved not to choose delegates, or accede to the desire of Virginia.

These democratic opinions of the middle classes, however, and the resolutions founded upon them, were eventually shaken and overturned by the extreme to which they were carried by the lower orders. These were no sooner inspired by the same political feelings, than, after their fashion, they rose in insurrection; bade defiance not only to congress, but to the state authorities themselves; and, collecting in armed bands, threatened to effect a serious revolution by taking law and property into their own hands. The New England states, principally Massachusetts, were the scenes of these disorders, which took place towards the close of 1786.

A body of 2000 men, assembled in the north-western region of the state, chose one of their number, Daniel

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Shays, for leader. They asked for suspension of taxes, and the remission of paper money; but it was known that their favourite scheme was that of an agrarian law, — a general division of property. Respectable classes were of course thrown into alarm; congress recovered a portion of that vigour which had marked it during the war; troops were despatched, under general Lincoln and other officers, against the insurgents; and the citizens of the New England towns forgot their late jealousy of the military, so far as to join them in the task of putting down their domestic foes. Funds were raised by private subscription to supply the emptiness of the public treasury; and an efficient force was enabled to march, in the midst of winter, against the insurgents, who were soon dispersed and reduced.

The rebellion thus suppressed was productive of the most salutary result. The middle classes, terrified at the exaggeration of their own doctrines, and at the risk of exciting the mob as supporters, rallied universally to the support of congress. Jealousy of these above was counterbalanced by fear of those below; and the majority of the state legislatures was brought to coincide with the views of the federal statesmen. Convinced by late experience of the necessity of an established and general government, even for purposes of domestic security, the hitherto refractory states named, without hesitation, their delegates to the appointed convention for forming a constitution.*

Accordingly, in the month of May, 1787, the delegates of twelve states met at Philadelphia. Washington, who had reluctantly consented to attend, was chosen president. The discussion and arrangement of the several articles were carried on with closed doors, and lasted four months. And at length, on the 17th of September, the proposed constitution was made public. It was presented to congress, and by that body was submitted to the several states for acceptance.

* The state of Rhode Island alone refused.

Although the party, designated as democratic, had given up a considerable portion of its hostility to a united government, still it was far from wanting representatives in the convention. We are informed, indeed, that in the most important questions, votes were so nicely balanced, that it was impossible to foretell any decision. During the discussions the leading men opposed to the democrats published their opinions in a series of letters, signed *the Federalist*, a name which henceforward seemed to designate the party. Mr. Madison and Mr. Jay were writers; but the principal one, as well as the most esteemed in his opinions, was colonel or general Hamilton. This gentleman went the length of proposing that the president and each senator should hold his office, as our judges do, during their good behaviour. The anti-federalists, on the other hand, of whom the future leader, Jefferson, was, however, as yet in France, supported the principle of rotation, or an annual change in the person wielding the executive of the country. The federalists' side was most powerful in talent, and, being supported by the authority of Washington, their opinions mainly prevailed.

The principal parts of the constitution were as follow:—

The legislature was to consist of two houses,—the senators, and the house of representatives. The first was to be elected by the state legislators, two by each, for six years, one third renewed every two years. The members of the lower house were to be chosen directly by the people, and to sit but for two years. Their numbers were to be in proportion to the population of the republic, and not to the number of states.

In order to the passing of a law, the senate and house of representatives must agree. To the president was reserved a conditional veto, which could always be over-ruled by a majority of two thirds in each house for the measure.

The president was to be chosen by an especial body of electors delegated by each state. Four years

were the term of his power; but he might be re-elected.

Congress was intrusted with the right of determining war or peace, raising armies, voting and levying taxes, and, with the president's assent, of ratifying treaties.

The president was commander of all forces, naval and military; and was, with the assent of congress, nominator to office.

A supreme judicial court was at the same time established for the decision of cases under the general law, of those between citizens of different states, or where foreigners were concerned.

The constitution no sooner appeared, than it was attacked with a host of objections. The democrats exclaimed, that it had melted the states into one government, without fencing the people by any declarations of rights; that a standing army was not renounced, and the liberty of the press not secured; that congress reserved to itself the power of suspending trial by jury in civil cases; that rotation in office was abandoned, that the president might be re-elected from four years to four years, so as to render him a king for life, like a king of Poland; and that the check or aid of a council had not been given him. Notwithstanding these objections, the constitution obtained the assent of all the states, save two — Rhode Island and North Carolina. New York was said to have acceded, chiefly, from fear of being excluded from the union; and, in consenting, she had demanded a new convention to make amendments in the act. Even Virginia thought it necessary to propose alterations. She required a declaration of rights, and the limitation that the president should be but once re-elected. These discussions occupied the year 1788, after which the constitution was generally accepted, and the grand point of a federal union achieved.*

* Jefferson, in one of his letters, gives the following account of its reception, and of the opinions of the several states and leaders respecting it:—

The month of March, 1789, was the epoch appointed for the commencement of the new government. So wanting, however, were many of the states, or their representatives, in zeal, that three weeks elapsed ere a full meeting of both houses could be procured. Their first necessary step was to elect a president; and George Washington was unanimously chosen to the office. With unfeigned reluctance, occasioned both by love of retirement and tenderness for his reputation, did that great man accept the first office of the commonwealth. The sacrifice was demanded of him, as, in the words of Hamilton, the success of the great experiment, viz. the working and existence of the new government, altogether depended upon the moral force which the name and character of Washington would bring to its chief office.

His feelings may be better judged from their private effusion, than from the public expression of them made to congress.

"I feel," said he, "for those members of the new congress, who hitherto have given an unavailing attendance at the theatre of action. For myself, the delay may be compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I tell you, (with the world it would obtain little credit,) that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution; so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public

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"The constitution has been received with very general enthusiasm; the bulk of the people are eager to adopt it. In the eastern states the printers will print nothing against it, unless the writer subscribes his name. Massachusetts and Connecticut have called conventions in January to consider it. In New York there is a division; the governor, Clinton, is known to be hostile. Jersey, it is thought, will accept: Pennsylvania is divided; and all the bitterness of her factions has been kindled anew. But the party in favour of it is the strongest, both in and out of the legislature. This is the party anciently of Morris, Wilson, &c. . . . Delaware will do what Pennsylvania shall do. Maryland is thought favourable to it, yet it is supposed that Chase and Pucca will oppose it. As to Virginia, two of her delegates, in the first place, refused to sign it: these were Randolph, the governor, and George Mason. Besides these, Henry, Harrison, Nelson, and the Lees, are against it. General Washington will be for it, but it is not in his character to exert himself much in the case. Madison will be its main pillar," &c.

care, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the people and a good name of my own on this voyage: but what returns will be made for them Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise; these, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake me, although I may be deserted by all men; for of the consolations that are to be derived from these, the world cannot deprive me."

Washington's progress from his seat of Mount Vernon to Philadelphia was a triumphant procession, such as few conquerors have known. The ceremony of his inauguration took place on the 30th of April, and the new president addressed congress in a noble and touching discourse. He could not have evinced a stronger conviction of the importance of his own duties, as well as of those whom he addressed, than is conveyed in the following words: — "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican form of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."

No sooner was the federal government thus completed by the inauguration of its chief, than congress proceeded at once to the consideration of what most pressed upon its attention — the revenue. But as every thing had hitherto remained unsettled, the discussion on this point involved the question of foreign policy and preference; and, leading to a warm debate, occasioned a collision between parties at the very outset of their legislative career.

Mr. Madison proposed a tax upon imported goods and tonnage. This, in principle, was objected to by none; but as the tonnage duty, pressing upon foreign vessels exclusively, was intended to act, in favour of domestic, and at the expense of foreign shipping, it

excited opposition. Some urged that America had few ships of her own, and needed the use of those, which this duty might drive away. But Madison pointed out, in answer, the necessity of fostering the infant navy of the country, as the only defensive force that would be required or available in a future war.

This argument overcame the objections. But another part of Mr. Madison's plan,—that which favoured the commerce of France rather than that of Great Britain,—called forth greater heat and opposition. France had contributed largely by her aid and alliance to the cause of American independence, from selfish reasons, no doubt, rather than from any love either for America or freedom; but this latter country was not called upon to scrutinise her motives. In addition to the claims of gratitude on this account, the envoys of the United States had been received as foes in Great Britain, as friends in France. The correspondence of Franklin and Jefferson, more especially the latter, exists, to attest how the sullen pride of merely English manner might have the effect of exciting rancour in a statesman, and by consequence in his country. England spurned all the commercial proposals of America, and assumed both in act and style the manner of the patrician to the freedman.

Nevertheless, there still existed in America a strong affection for the parent country; a reverence for her name, her institutions, and her people; and a hankering after the old connection. It was completely manifest in this debate, where the federalists,—those who might be considered the tories of the American union,—proposed in all equity to retaliate upon Great Britain, and yet were outvoted. Or rather, the house of representatives agreed to the distinction to be observed between those countries having, and those not having, concluded a commercial treaty,—Great Britain and France being here designated,—whilst the senate rejected the distinction.

A provision being made for raising a revenue and answering the just debts of the states, congress pro-

ceeded to the completion of the machine of government, by the institution of ministerial offices, according to the usage of the monarchies of Europe. Departments were erected, of the treasury, of war, and of state, — the latter including foreign and domestic relations. This last important office attracted particular attention. The bill for establishing it intrusted the president with the power of removing the minister from office. It was moved by way of amendment, that the president should not have the power of dismissing the minister without the assent of congress. This assent or co-operation, it was argued, having been considered requisite to the appointment, why should it not be indispensable to the act of dismissal? The government party opposed strenuously this attempt to nullify the presidential office, which, indeed, if shorn of this authority, would have been reduced to a level with that of its secretary. Nay, they were not content with voting this power at present, but contended that the rule should have been a fundamental part of the constitution. It was now declared to be so by a vote, the derogatory amendment having been previously negatived: and the wholesome prerogative of the president was effectually secured.

What the federal party thus obtained in essentials, they recompensed by ceding upon points of form. A proposal for fixing the title of "Highness" to the name of the president was allowed to be negatived; and congress persisted in addressing the executive head simply as "George Washington, president of the United States."

The several ministerial departments were now filled up. Colonel Hamilton, the friend of Washington, and he who had chiefly induced him to accept the guidance of the new government, was appointed to the treasury. General Knox, who had been the war minister under congress, was now re-appointed; whilst Jefferson, envoy in France, but then on his return to the United States, was named secretary of the state department, including foreign and home affairs.

These arrangements offered strong proofs of Wash-

ington's desire to conciliate the more democratic party in the country. He set aside Hamilton and Jay, although they certainly professed his own opinions, from that department, which was truly the executive; bestowing it on Jefferson, who was known to lean in his sentiments to the anti-federal or democratic extreme. He was one of those who would have made the presidential office annual, and who objected to all the strong parts of the constitution. If Washington argued, that the experience and exercise of power would prove the best means of teaching an individual the necessity of that power being ample, his motive was sagacious, yet the struggles of party prevented this taking effect in the case of Jefferson.

At the head of the law was placed Mr. Jay, as chief justice, one of the most estimable characters of the time.* Randolph, since more celebrated, was named attorney-general. Mr. Adams had been elected vice-president: the only name of eminence omitted in the arrangements was that of Madison.

Such were the chief results of the first session of congress, as established by the constitution. Immediately after its close, in September, Washington undertook a journey through the New England states, in every quarter of which he was welcomed with most affectionate enthusiasm. Nor could this tribute be paid to his person exclusively, without in some degree producing a share of such feeling for his office. North Carolina, in this recess, gave up her opposition; and her legislature now by a vote declared its adhesion to the union.

* There is a very important assertion or disclosure made with respect to American affairs by Cooper, in his "Notions of the Americans." This is, that in 1783, the French government sought to procure for America, not an acknowledgment of its independence, and a peace, but merely twenty years' truce, with a tacit acknowledgment like that which Spain had granted to the United Provinces of Holland. Franklin, it is said, had submitted to this arrangement, when Mr. Jay, arriving from Spain to take part in the negotiation, scouted the duplicity of France, and the weakness of his colleague, insisting upon a peace, and an open acknowledgment, instead of a truce.

CHAP. XIII.

PRESIDENCY OF WASHINGTON.

With the year 1790 may be said to commence the administration of Washington, and the action of his new government; since congress, during the previous year, was occupied with fundamental measures, in order to complete the constitution; and ministers were not appointed till towards its close.

Parties, however, were already in opposition, and beginning to be strongly marked. Although at first distinguished from each other more by tendencies than principles, mutual accusation and the heat of strife soon pushed them into opposite extremes, and drove the estimable and talented of both sides to adopt opinions that their sober reason might have shrunk from. The federalists were accused of seeking to establish a monarchy, which was certainly far from their ideas; the republicans with sympathy for the French levellers and spillers of blood — the latter, at least, abhorrent to them. The first act now undertaken by the federalists in power, — that which excited the most deadly opposition, — seems, however, to have been dictated by the very laudable feeling of honesty; by the wish, perhaps, to imitate England — but merely to imitate her in that sacred observance of her word, which proves the basis of credit. In his plan now brought forward for funding the public debt, the secretary of the treasury, Hamilton, proposed to raise a loan equal to the amount of the whole debt, which by this means was to be funded. To this the opposition objected; arguing that it was expedient to pay foreigners the entire of their demand; but as the American holder of paper money had, for the most part, received it at a most depreciated value, he should be

paid only the price at which he bought it. It is amazing that an honest mind, like that of Jefferson, should support so flagrant a system of public swindling as this—where the state takes advantage of the effect of its temporary breach of contract, to render this breach perpetual. The avowed doctrine of paying foreigners, because it was expedient, and cheating the citizen, because it was feasible, forms a species of political logic which reflects little credit on those who adopt it. Jefferson's support of such a system may be accounted for, by the fact, that his principles of public liberty were chiefly imbibed at that impure source—the French revolution—in which national bankruptcy was not excused as a necessity, but urged as a good political manœuvre for crushing the aristocracy.* Mr. Jackson opposed the ministerial measure on the broad principle of aversion to the system of public debt altogether. There was the more reason for this objection, as Hamilton proposed to render a portion of the public debt irredeemable, except with the holder's consent. Jackson said it was the nest and the support of aristocracy; and he has lived to act upon a principle that is no doubt sound. But debt, though an evil, is not so great an evil as dishonesty in getting rid of it.

All the amendments were nevertheless set aside, and the proposal of the secretary and treasurer agreed to; but a more important part of the arrangement remained behind. This referred to the debts incurred separately by each state for carrying on the war. These Hamilton proposed that congress should pay, and throw into the common fund. The opposition maintained, that each state should account for and settle its own debt. And this they urged, less on the plea of fairness, than on the general principle, that if the federal government thus made the paying of interest and raising of funds to centre in itself, it would wield a power inconsistent with the rights and independence of the separate states. This

* Jefferson's opinions are only declared in his letters. He did not reach America until after these discussions.

was a question upon which the federalists and anti-federalists were brought into direct collision, and the dispute was yet warmer than any hitherto known. The federalists exclaimed, that no government could exist, which was considered unworthy of this confidence. The anti-federalists urged, that these plans raised up a host of fundholders and public creditors bound in obligation to the government, which would henceforth be supported and carried on by a system of corruption. The resolution of the treasury secretary was at first carried by a few voices; but on the deputies from North Carolina, lately acceded to the union, soon after taking their seats in congress, the question was re-committed, and the original resolution rejected by the same majority which had but just accepted it. "So high were the feuds excited by this subject, that on its rejection business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned from day to day without doing any thing, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together." *

It had been the northern states who were most attacked, and who had consequently made most exertions during the war. Amongst these, consequently, the state debts were most numerous; and were they to be paid by the union in general, it would be at the expense of the southern states. The latter, therefore, opposed the government plan most violently. Indeed, this was the secret of the long secession of North Carolina from the federal government. Hamilton, however, represented to the leading members on the opposite side, that the consequence of holding out and prolonging this difference might prove a dissolution of the union. He prayed some of them, in consequence, to withdraw their negative votes; and though this measure pressed severely on the southern states, some other measure should be passed which would compensate them. It had been previously proposed to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown on the Potomac; and it was

* "Anas" of Jefferson.

thought, that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, the ferment which might be excited by the other measure alone might be calmed. Two of the Potomac members, White and Lee, ("but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive,") agreed to change their votes; and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. Thus did the ability of the secretary carry this important measure, which not only preserved the public credit of the country entire, but drew to its government that accession of weight, which caused it to triumph in its infancy over its anti-federal foes.

The raising supplies to meet the interest of this newly funded debt was a task that still remained for the minister, and which was deferred till the following session of congress. The mode in which he proposed to do this, was by raising the impost upon wine, and tea, and other commodities, but chiefly by a duty upon spirits distilled within the country. This bold attempt to introduce an *excise* in the almost infant state of the country, shows Hamilton to have been, indeed, biassed to English example; and also to have been possessed of a degree of political courage likely to have rendered him a dangerous foe to liberty, had his principles been as monarchical as his enemies asserted. His scheme of excise was assailed by all the arguments of the opposition, and by the votes of the southern and western states, strongly interested against the measure. North Carolina, at each article that displeased her, threatened to secede. But the opponents of the measure were unable to show any more feasible means of raising the necessary revenue; and the excise bill passed.

This was followed by another legislative enactment, which was considered by the democrats as the greatest crime of the federalists, and the extremity of Hamilton's daring. He was bent upon completing a commercial and monied system; and he deemed the establishment of a national bank requisite for this. The opposition confined their views to the political consequences of such

measure, and considered the minister's attention to be also directed exclusively to these. It was difficult for them to combat the utility of a banking establishment of some kind; and they, therefore, confined their arguments to the plea of want of authority in congress. Power, they said, had not been delegated for this purpose; and to assume it, was usurpation. It is surprising to what lengths this controversy went; what time, ingenuity, and paper were wasted on a question that common sense might have decided in an hour. It was here that Hamilton, who was at the head of the treasury, and Jefferson, secretary of state, utterly differed and separated; the latter adopting the opinions of the anti-federalists, and asserting the illegality of congress taking up the project. Both submitted their contradictory opinions to the consideration of the president, who, after some time, sided with his treasury minister; and the establishment of a national bank was in consequence decided.*

One great cause of expenditure and of jealousy with the liberal party in any nation, was avoided by the United States, in their having no powerful neighbour or enemy. The only foes that called for military resistance or defence were the Indians. Of these, the nation of Creeks in the south, under the dominion of a chief of white descent, kept Georgia on the alert; whilst on the north-west, beyond the Ohio, certain tribes, cherishing vengeance for

* Jefferson's opinion of the policy of his federal antagonist is here subjoined. It will of course be read as the statement of a partisan: for that reason it is kept out of the text.

"The whole actions of the legislature were now under the direction of the treasury. Still the machine was not complete. The effect of the funding system, and of the assumption," sinking the state debts in the general debt, "would be temporary; it would be lost, with the loss of the individual members whom it had enriched; and some engine of influence more permanent must be contrived, whilst these myrmidons were yet in place, to carry it through all opposition. This engine was the bank of the United States. All its history being known, I shall say nothing about that. While the government remained at Philadelphia, a selection of members of both houses were constantly kept as directors, who, on every question interesting to that institution, or to the views of the federal head, voted at the will of that head; and, together with the stock-holding members, could always make the federal vote that of the majority. By this combination, legislative expositions were given to the constitution, and all the administrative laws were shaped on the model of England, and so passed. And from this influence we were not relieved, until the removal from the precincts of the bank to Washington."

past outrages upon them, carried on desultory warfare; plundering and ravaging detached settlements, though not menacing the state. The president directed his attention first towards the Creeks, with whom adjustment was rendered difficult by their connection with Spain. The first attempt to bring about an accommodation failed; but, in 1790, Gillivray, their chief, was induced to proceed to New York, and conclude a treaty.

Similar overtures made to the Indians beyond the Ohio were not attended with any result. Washington, who regarded the employment of a regular force as necessary, pressed congress on the increase of the army. But its members, though not exceeding 1200 men, still excited jealousy; and the settlers of the west were left to their own defence for a time. At length, in 1790, some funds and troops were voted; and, in the autumn of that year, an expedition, 1500 strong, marched under general Harmer up the river Wabash. Here it was found that the militia soldier was too apt to desert his comrades of the regular army in action. A body of the latter was cut off upon one occasion. Harmer succeeded in burning some Indian villages; but, in the end, retreated with little honour and much loss. This check procured for Washington the permission of raising a greater number of troops. Two expeditions were undertaken in the following year, both without success. At length an American force under general St. Clair suffered a most scandalous defeat. He was surrounded by the Indians; and, unable either to dislodge them or sustain their fire, the Americans were driven, in most disorderly flight, a space of thirty miles in four hours. They lost sixty officers, amongst whom was general Butler, and 700 men, amounting to more than half their force; and yet the Indians were not supposed to be more numerous.

This disaster gave rise to a proposal from the president to raise the military force of the country to 5000 men. Notwithstanding the urgency of the case, it excited the strenuous opposition of the republican party;

who resisted it not only from instinctive jealousy of a standing army, but on the grounds, that the people could not support additional burdens, that the excise was already unpopular and unproductive, and that the import taxes would not bear increase. These objections were overcome by the absolute exigencies of the occasion, and a vote enabled the president to raise the proposed force.

The differences with England and with Spain formed the subject of diplomatic effort. But the former country was found to be as intractable, and as unwilling as ever to enter into commercial arrangements. From Spain an essential point was to be gained, — overlooked, indeed, or considered unwise to demand in 1783, but never since that time lost sight of by American statesmen. This was the free navigation of the river Mississippi to the ocean. In 1788, Jefferson recommended the Kentucky men "not to push for the right of navigating the Mississippi, until the west of Europe was engaged in war." But now that some serious grounds of difference arose between Spain and Great Britain, which seemed to portend a war between the countries, the American envoys at Madrid and at Paris were bidden to prepare the way for this, and even larger demands. A right to navigate the Mississippi implied, with the government of the United States, the possession of a port where the vessels of the river might meet and exchange cargoes with those of the sea. The island and town of New Orleans were already fixed upon; but they feared at first to propose to Spain, or even to the French minister, a cession so important. As the affairs of Europe, however, became more embroiled, the demands of the United States became larger and louder; and at length they spoke not only of navigating the river freely, and of acquiring New Orleans, but they hinted that the Floridas themselves should be abandoned to them. One argument was, that Great Britain would infallibly seize those countries in case she declared war; and it was urged, especially to France, how much safer these possessions

would be in the hands of an ally or a neutral, than in those of an enemy. These plans, however sagaciously conceived and carried on, were suspended, for the time, by the settlement of differences between England and Spain; the latter country not venturing to engage single-handed in such a contest.

In the spring of 1791, Washington made a tour through the southern provinces; on which occasion, stopping upon the Potomac, he selected, according to the powers intrusted to him, the site for the future capital of the union. He was greeted throughout his progress with affectionate welcome; nor was a murmur allowed to reach his ear, although the odious excise law was just about that period brought into operation. A new congress met at Philadelphia in the latter end of October: and in his opening speech the president principally alluded to the great success of the bank scheme, the shares for which had been all subscribed for in less than two hours after the books were opened; to the operations of the excise law, and the obstinate resistance of the Indians. The attention of the members of the legislature was, however, turned to a subject different from all these.

This was the law for fixing the state of the representation. The constitution had laid down, that one member should be returned to the house of representatives for every 30,000 of the population. As each state had a considerable fraction above this number, it was proposed to take the whole population of the union, and, dividing the amount by 30,000, increase the house of representatives to the full quota. It was singular enough, that although the opposition party ardently desired the increase in the members of the lower house, which, they argued, could alone set it free from the corrupt influence of the treasury, they still opposed this mode of gratifying their own views, inasmuch as it militated against their anti-federal principles, by merging the states in the union. So strong was this feeling, that although, after much debating and many trials, the pro-

posal did pass both portions of the legislature, the president felt it advisable to put his negative upon it, as infringing upon the fundamental law of the constitution. This was the first occasion upon which the chief of the republic had exercised this power.

It was a little previous to this time that general St. Clair's defeat by the Indians beyond the Ohio had taken place. The circumstance gave rise to the proposal for increasing the army, and for a corresponding increase in the supplies; both of which excited warm opposition, and strictures upon the conduct of the administration. Secretary Hamilton accompanied his bill for the increase of duties with a provision for rendering permanent certain taxes allotted to the payment of interest upon the debt. Each step, indeed, which this minister took, seemed in the traces of British policy; and however salutary and requisite they may have been, he certainly showed little caution in the manner of adopting successively the several parts of machinery belonging to a monarchical government.

The suspicions of the republicans were raised to the highest pitch by these measures, as well as by reports of his opinions expressed in private conversations. The difference between him and his colleague, Jefferson, grew daily wider. They could agree on no point of foreign or domestic politics; and the quiet of Washington was disturbed in vain endeavours to preserve peace between the two discordant leaders of his administration. The ambiguous kind of connection that existed both with Great Britain and France was a continual source of bickering between them. There were now agents from both countries in America; and whilst Hamilton pressed overtures and favourable terms to be offered to England, Jefferson pressed the same for France. The antipathy of the former to France was increased by the late events of that country, where the king had been dethroned, and almost every principle of government uprooted. Some considered that in this state of things there did not exist in France a govern-

ment sufficiently legal, or responsible, to warrant the payment of money from America. The insurrection in St. Domingo came, to render this question at once more important and intricate, as the menaced colonists had, in the first instance, recourse to the assistance of the United States.

The limits between the two departments were not well defined; and the secretary of state complained that he of the treasury drew all influence and affairs within his own jurisdiction. Each minister had a journal, which supported him, and was considered the organ of his opinions. The Gazette of the United States spoke in the federal tone of the treasury; the National Gazette, edited by a clerk of Jefferson's office, espoused contrary opinions; and thus were two members of the same cabinet engaged in a paper war before the public. In the journal of one, European politics were represented through the medium of the English papers, which over-coloured the extravagant acts of France, and showed anarchy and blood as the necessary consequences of democracy; the columns of the other were filled rather from French and Continental papers, which then represented republicanism as thriving equally in France as in America. The president, however, from inclination, leaning to Hamilton's view of things, still would fling himself into the arms of neither party; and laboured with all the energy of true patriotism to allay, if not extinguish, these sources of dissension. Yet even Washington himself was not spared. His appointed days and hours for reception — rendered requisite for the economy of his time — were called levees, and considered an affectation of monarchy. Some arrangements of etiquette, into which he had been betrayed whilst at New York, were adduced as proofs of similar inclination on his part. The vice-president, Adams, was stigmatised as still more monarchical in his principles and in his life. The former, indeed, he had published to the world whilst in England, by his "Thoughts on Republics;" and since his return, by a supplement to his

great work, which he called "Davila." So that Mr. Adams made no secret of his federal tendencies.

There was now an opportunity for the discontented party to try its force, as the four years' duration of the presidential and vice-presidential office was about to expire. Against Washington, however, although the malignant might carp, there were none so bold as to propose a competitor: the difficulty, indeed, was to persuade that veteran still to undertake the fatigue of the first office. Year after year he had contemplated retiring, and year after year fresh difficulties and troubles demanded of his patriotism the sacrifice of his inclination to repose. At present Jefferson threatened to retire the moment that Washington did; the effect of which, by flinging the government into the hands of the federals exclusively, would be to excite the rage and suspicions of the opposite faction to the utmost, and thus risk some such convulsion as that which was distracting France, and marring all her aims at freedom. Washington, therefore, consented to occupy the president's chair for another term of four years, commencing March, 1793.

The same deference was not paid to Adams. Him the opposition bent all their efforts to displace; and George Clinton was set up as his competitor for the vice-presidency. Could Jefferson have stood, his popularity would, no doubt, have prevailed. But Adams was preferred to Clinton by a majority of votes.

The chief attacks, however, were made upon the secretary of the treasury. In the discussion of the supplies, it was endeavoured to implicate him as incorrect in the management of the public money. The treasury accounts were somewhat intricate, owing to debts due and payments made to France, at the same time that loans were raised in Europe. France wished some of this debt to be transmitted to St. Domingo, in aid of her colonists. This crossing of funds and payments had produced confusion; and Hamilton was accused not only of this, but of an actual deficit in his accounts,—a charge which he successfully and indignantly repelled.

The resolutions against him were negatived; but a strong minority showed their rancour, by voting what was nothing less than an impeachment.

Washington accepted the presidency at a moment when the country was about to stand most in need of his impartial honesty and firmness. The French revolution had just reached its highest point of fanaticism and disorder, and the general war which it occasioned in Europe put it beyond the power of the president of the United States to remain indifferent or a stranger to its progress. The French republic was about to appoint a new envoy to the United States; and questions arose, as to whether he should be received, or whether the treaty concluded with the monarch of France, stipulating a defensive alliance in case of an attack upon the part of England, was now binding upon America.

These, and other questions arising out of them, being submitted by the president to the several members of his cabinet, gave rise on some points to striking differences of opinion. Hamilton and Knox were for declaring the treaty void, and for openly condemning and breaking with the democratic government of France, by refusing to receive her envoy, or at least by rendering that reception cold. On the other hand, Jefferson and Randolph (the attorney-general) upheld, that any alteration which France had chosen to make in her internal state, concerned America in no manner to criticise or interfere with. They agreed, however, that for the sake of preserving neutrality, a proclamation should be issued, forbidding the citizens of the United States from equipping any vessel for the purpose of cruising hostilely to either power. The president resolved to receive the envoy, and it was agreed, that no mention should be made of the treaty, or of its having been taken into consideration.

The appearance of the proclamation above mentioned gave a fresh subject and spur to the party feeling predominant in the public mind. Indifference to the French question could scarcely be met with. The very

question was one calculated to render such indifference impossible. Every man was compelled to express an opinion, and to side either with England or France, with monarchical or democratic institutions. The great mass of the American population naturally enough preferred France and democracy; and by them the proclamation against bearing aid to these, was viewed and reproached as a political heresy. The aspersions against Washington himself became of a more violent and personal nature, and often served to disturb his equanimity.*

The choice which the French government made of a person to represent them in America, as well as the instructions which they gave him, tended very much to increase these difficulties. The individual was M. Genet, a man who had held some subordinate office, whose ignorance of the nature and duties of the office in which he was placed increased his natural arrogance. But the very instructions which he brought out from his government were such as to disgust liberal minds. They contained an attack upon the regal government of France; and not only insinuated, but proved, that the minister of Louis XVI., in furthering the independence of America, had been a foe to her aggrandisement. And this was put forward as a plea, that the United States should rejoice in the revolution which had taken place, and which brought them a sincere and cordial ally, instead of a false and lukewarm one. However

* The following extract from Jefferson's "Anas," is subjoined, as it presents Washington in a different light from that in which his acts and writings showed him. From these one should have thought him cold and imperturbable.

"Knox, in a foolish incoherent sort of speech, introduced the pasquinade lately printed, called the 'Funeral of George Washington and James Wilson, King and Judge,' &c., where the president was placed on a guillotine. The president was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his, since he had been in the government, which was not done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that by God he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than be made emperor of the world; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a king."

true the circumstance, it was indelicate so to make use of it, and impolitic, as diminishing the sum of gratitude due from America to France.

M. Genet's own conduct, however, was marked with insolence and audacity, which exceeded the patience of the American government. Instead of sailing to Philadelphia, and communicating immediately with the president or ministers, he landed at Charleston in South Carolina, and there remained six weeks superintending and authorising the fitting out of cruisers to intercept British vessels. The enthusiasm with which he was welcomed by the people, both at Charleston and during his land journey to Philadelphia, induced citizen Genet to believe that the envoy of France must be as powerful as its name was revered. He deemed, that, relying on the popular support, he might act the proconsul in the country, and set himself above the cautious scruples of the existing government. Accordingly, when expostulated with upon his licensing of privateers, and upon the circumstance of captures made by his countrymen in the very rivers of the United States, Genet replied, that the treaty between France and the United States sanctioned such measures, and that any obstructions put upon them would not only be infractions of the treaty, but treason against the *rights of man*. The government, notwithstanding this protest, thought fit to arrest two individuals who had entered on this privateering service. Genet demanded their release in a menacing style, little in accordance with the character of envoy from an allied power; and he was supported, unfortunately, in this high tone, by the democratic party, who gave him fêtes, at which red caps of liberty appeared and circulated, and in which toasts were given, as flattering to the French republican, as vituperative of the American government. Nor were these meetings confined to occasions of conviviality. Societies were formed on the model of the Jacobins at Paris, and a club was constituted at Philadelphia for the same purpose as

in Paris, to over-rule both the legislature and the cabinet.

In a particular instance, M. Genet was enabled to show his contempt, at once for the authorities of the country and for his own word. A captured British ship was fitted out in the very harbour of Philadelphia as a privateer against the English. It was ready to sail, when information of the fact reached the secretary. Washington was then at his country seat, and Genet after much blustering was brought to promise, that the vessel in question should not sail till the president's return. The word was given and broken: for the cruiser did sail upon its quest. Whilst the government was consulting its law officers, to decide how best they might deal with the French envoy, and his pretensions, the latter obtained cause of complaint in his turn, and urged that the British were in the habit of taking French property out of American vessels, contrary to the principles of neutrality avowed by the rest of Europe. Jefferson himself was obliged to tell M. Genet, on this occasion, that the British were right.* But the latter would yield to neither authority nor reason; he replied in the most insulting tone, and would appeal, he said, from the president to the people. His appeal was in part answered; for one of those who were tried at Charleston for taking part in foreign privateering, was acquitted by the jury. The government, however, persisted in preserving and guarding its neutrality; and orders were issued against permitting privateers in the ports, for preventing captures within the American waters, and for restoring captures so made. As to Genet himself, his recal was demanded; a knowledge of which brought forth from him fresh insults both in word and act. A reclaimed prize, which had been taken possession of by the legal officers, was forcibly rescued from them, and kept, till it sailed, by the original French captors.

* "I believe it cannot be doubted, but that by the general law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessel of an enemy are free, and the goods of an enemy found in the vessel of a friend, are lawful prize."—*Jefferson's Letter to Genet.*

Neutrality between belligerents is a difficult and delicate part to sustain. It was not France alone that advanced extraordinary pretensions. The British government issued orders for stopping all neutral ships laden with provisions bound for the ports of France; thus declaring that country in a state of blockade. The national convention of France had, indeed, set the example of this by an act of the same tendency, doubly rash, because impotent. But this, however strong a plea for retaliating upon France, was none for making America suffer. Corn, indeed, formed the chief export of the United States; and to prohibit them from shipping it at all,—for the new regulation amounted in fact to this,—was a grievance which the most pacific neutral could scarcely submit to. Another continually recurring source of complaint on the part of the United States against England, was the pressing of their seamen, which the difficulty of distinguishing between natives of the two countries rendered of frequent occurrence and tardy rectification. These causes came to swell the tide of faction in America, as the enemies of England and of authoritative institutions took advantage of them to raise their cry, whilst the Anti-gallican, on the other hand, were as indignant against the arrogance of the French and of their envoy.

Congress re-assembled in the month of December, 1793, and the president enumerated all these topics in his speech; the conduct of France and England; and the difficulty, as well as the necessity, of maintaining a firm neutrality. To be able to preserve the latter, he recommended an increase of funds and force. The late recess had been as stormy in the cabinet as amongst the people. Genet's conduct, the democratic societies, the uncertainty of relation with Great Britain and with France, had been a continual source of discord. Mr. Jefferson, in pronouncing against Genet, had found himself in the disagreeable position of one striking against his own party. He entertained the strongest suspicions of his colleague Hamilton, and he not only

combated his sentiments, but counteracted his policy. The former had been for expelling Genet from the country, and for other strong measures, which the secretary of state opposed: Washington held the balance even; but thought it unfair that Jefferson should support his clerk, Freneau, in editing a paper that reviled not only the measures of government, but the person of the president. The secretary of state was determined to retire. Previous to his retreat, he drew up an elaborate report upon the commerce of the United States, and upon the privileges and restrictions attending mercantile intercourse with foreign nations. In this he embodied his favourite views — a leaning to France, and an aversion to England; bequeathing them, as he retired, to the country's consideration, if not adoption. Randolph succeeded Jefferson as secretary of state.

The attention of congress was first called to the report of Jefferson, and to the measures which it manifestly recommended. The principal of these was a tonnage duty upon British vessels, from which French vessels were exempt. The object was evidently more political than commercial, in which point of view it had oft been argued before. Politically considered, public opinion had grown in favour of France, in spite of Genet's folly. Two circumstances had occurred to produce this, in addition to the national tendency of republicans to favour a republic. One of these was the removal of the Portuguese cruisers from before the straits of Gibraltar. This — said to be owing to the interference of England — had opened a passage into the Atlantic for the Algerine corsairs, and had proved destructive to American commerce. The other was the aggression of the Indians, said to be instigated by our Canadian governors.

For the moment, the federal and democratic parties might have been designated more properly as Anglicans and Gallicans; so much was a leaning to one or other of these countries, disputing for ascendency in Europe, the essential characteristic of even American politics.

Those who were not exactly the friends of England, but who wished to observe impartiality, had hitherto predominated both in the legislature and the government. In the latter they still prevailed; but in congress their power had declined; and the debate on the commercial resolutions, being a trial of strength between them, was conducted with great length and violence.

Mr. Smith, of Carolina, who represented the opinions of Hamilton and the federals, accused the plan of being unjustly and politically vindictive. He entered in detail into the benefits of a commerce with England, which he sustained was regulated as fairly by that country as the commerce with France had been, and that it was infinitely more beneficial. He enumerated the well-known and usual objections to a prohibitory system, and pointed out the inconvenience of forcing the small capital of the United States from its natural channel of agriculture into the, as yet, artificial ones of manufactures and navigation. Mr. Madison was the principal speaker who advocated contrary doctrines. He looked especially to measures correspondent to the British navigation act, which had given England the command of the sea; and in support of this he disputed the soundness of the facts adduced by the impugner of the resolutions. He contended, that America would thrive more from exclusion and contest than from conciliating and stooping to a power that slighted her; and that now was the moment, if ever, when England was engaged in mortal struggle with France, to bring her to reason. Commercial prosperity he evidently made subservient to national force, contemplating rather the glory of the country in war than its internal progress as a great empire. The anti-British resolutions were carried by a majority of five voices.

The spirit of the country and congress was evidently warlike. The government thought to take advantage of it in a particular point, which might serve also somewhat to distract the people from the one dire idea

of hatred to England. It was proposed to equip a fleet of six frigates to cruise against the Algerines. But this was opposed. The opposition looked to but one enemy, viz. Great Britain, and she was too powerful to be encountered at sea. The six frigates would be her spoil. Their aim was rather to offer no object of prey or spoil; but, keeping their wealth and force at home, compel the British to seek out a scene of offensive warfare in America, where the latter country would be most likely to have the advantage. Circumstances occurred from time to time to swell the combative propensities of the moment. A declaration of lord Dorchester, governor of Lower Canada, contemplated war; accounts of captures of American vessels by British cruisers became more frequent and more exciting; and an order issued by the admiralty, still more severe than had yet been known, gave credibility to the hopes and fears entertained of a rupture.

Under the influence of this general feeling, congress proceeded to consider the raising of a military force, the fortifying the ports, and laying on an embargo. Mr. Madison proposed to break off all commercial intercourse with England, and to sequester her debts. The English ministry at the time was too fully and deeply occupied with treasons at home, and the menace of invasion from abroad, to answer this waspishness of America in a similar tone. On the contrary, the last obnoxious order of the admiralty was recalled, and the federal party were able to rally, and entertain hopes of avoiding a rupture.

The same circumstance, however, added all the rage of disappointment to the democratic or French party; and this showed its increased vehemence in imitations of its chosen model, and in carrying the proceedings of the clubs of America to a par with those of France. The most atrocious acts of the sanguinary revolution of that country were hailed as worthy of admiration: and not only the federal ministers of government were alarmed, and impelled to put down so dangerous a

spirit, but Washington himself deemed it requisite to come forward, and throw his personal weight into the scale of order, against that of anarchy.

To put an end to the menacing difference with England, was considered the first requisite step by the government, and the last concession of the admiralty was considered to warrant the despatch of an envoy extraordinary to London. Jay was appointed, a majority in the senate being induced to agree in the nomination. This was a bold act in the teeth of a majority of the house of representatives. However, that majority was reduced, or, at least, neutralised for the moment, the house dividing so equally upon most questions, as to leave the decision to the casting vote of the vice-president.

The violent democratic and warlike tendency of the legislature having been at least turned aside, the only difficult task which remained to the president was to allay a similar feeling, with much more menacing demonstrations of it, on the part of the people. The western states displayed a spirit of utter insubordination. Kentucky resolved not only to have the right of navigating the Mississippi, but prepared to wrest it by violence from Spain. The more remote parts of Pennsylvania were distracted by another cause — resistance to the excise. This resistance soon assumed an organised form, and its leaders placed themselves in communication with the democratic societies of the great towns eastward, until, heated by this stimulus, they at last placed all law and legal order at defiance. A proclamation was at first issued, but proved of no avail; when the federal members of the cabinet urged the necessity of assembling the militia of the neighbouring states, and marching them to crush the insurrectionary force of Pennsylvania. This, too, was a bold step, much disputed and decried. But it completely succeeded. A militia force, under the command of governor Lee, and accompanied by secretary Hamilton, marched across the Alleghany mountains; and such

was their imposing number, that the insurgents shrunk from a contest with their armed brethren, and dispersed without offering any resistance. The result was most important, and, as producing it, the insurrection itself proved beneficial, since it showed to the lover of anarchy that there did exist a force in the country ready to put down any anti-constitutional attempt.

General Wayne, at the head of a regular force, had been about the same time successful beyond the Ohio, where he defeated the Indians in an action of some importance. Such were the tidings that the president had to communicate to congress, when it met towards the close of 1794. He recommended them to complete the militia-law, now that the salutary use of that force had been seen; and he alluded to the democratic societies, as sources of trouble that ought not to be permitted to exist. The house of representatives could not bring itself to pass formal condemnation, as the president seemed to wish, upon the clubs. But the news of their fall in Paris, and of that of Robespierre, proved condemnation sufficient.

In this session of congress the secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, sent in his resignation. He closed his ministerial career, as Jefferson had done, by a report upon the finances of the country, containing the development and completion of his system. No statesman had wielded such influence over the infant government of the United States as Hamilton had done; and he might almost be considered as the parent of their constitution. He was the opponent, however, of the republican regime; and as such the obloquy attached to him was so great, that his talents and fortitude must both have been extreme to have enabled him to bear up against its weight. His enemies accused him of monarchic inclinations; but no proof exists that he was traitor to the republic. To him, on the contrary, America owed her credit, her union in a great measure, and the durability of her first government, since he not only brought his own powers to her

service, but mainly contributed to induce Washington to follow his example. His chief crime with his American opponents was, that he still cherished a love and respect for the institutions and habits of the mother-country, and that he looked to England as the school where the laws and mechanism of a representative government might best be studied. His foes, in their vituperation, recurred to British history for their terms of reproach; and they raked up all that was ever uttered against Walpole, to cast it upon the American statesman. What the English minister effected by bribe and place, Hamilton was accused of seeking to effect by his system of funding state debts and establishing a bank for the credit of the country. These, no doubt, must have had the effect of influencing men to support order and established government, but to stigmatise such legitimate modes of influence with the name of corruption, was one of those party judgments which it is especially the office of history to correct: it is honourable to a stateman thus accused to add, that the cause which drove him from power was poverty. He had wasted his patrimony in the service of the state, so low and insufficient was the remuneration; and he now retired to husband what was left. Notwithstanding the aspersions of political enemies, the name of Alexander Hamilton must endure by the side of that of Washington, marked with the attributes of greatness, genius, and honesty.*

General Knox at the same time retired from the war department. The two secretaries were succeeded by Mr. Wolcott and colonel Pickering.

Washington was thus left almost alone to resist the growing strength of the anti-federal and Gallican party, and precisely at a moment when a question occurred

* Jefferson thus appreciates his political enemy:—"Hamilton is really a cŏlossus to the anti-republican party. Without numbers, he is an host within himself."

The year after Hamilton's retirement, he was accused of peculating in favour of a certain lady He owned to the existence of the intrigue, and his confession proved that some share in the embarrassment of his fortune was owing to this immoral connection.

likely to exasperate it and call forth all its violence. Mr. Jay, who had been sent envoy to England, had concluded a treaty with lord Grenville, the minister of that country. If his mere mission had been deprecated, how was its completion to be greeted, especially as an agreement could certainly not have been come to with Great Britain without making some sacrifices. The hackneyed reproach, however, had been got over,—that England scorned to enter into any treaty whatsoever,—and the present accommodation seemed to have been conducted on equitable terms. England stipulated to evacuate the posts occupied by her hitherto within the boundary line of the United States; they, on the other hand, allowing British subjects every facility for the recovery of past debts. Indemnification was promised on both sides for illegal captures. Freedom of trade was agreed on to a certain extent. Americans were allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels under twenty tons, provided they carried their produce to their own ports only, and exported no such produce to Europe. This last part of the stipulation was certainly hard, as it prohibited the American from sending to Europe the cotton or sugar of his own production. This had escaped Mr. Jay, and the president refused to ratify the treaty till this mistake was rectified. The other grievance of the treaty was the right of England, still allowed, to take out of American ships contraband articles, and to be in some measure the judge of what was contraband. This, which the government under Jefferson had loudly complained of, was now in part abandoned, and formed certainly a just ground of cavil against the treaty. However, these objections were counterbalanced by so many advantages, that the president, after some further delay, ratified the treaty, procuring a majority of the senate to concur with him.

Never had there been a more violent expression of opinion in America, than that which now assailed Washington and his treaty—for his it was considered. Nothing was to be heard but discussions concerning it;

and public meetings were called in every town, at which addresses and resolutions were drawn up against it. The Gallican party exclaimed against it as the basest act of ingratitude towards France, and of treason towards a republic, whose watchword and safeguard ought to be hatred to monarchy and to England. The grave dignity of Washington, however, contemning his revilers, rebuked with effect such violent addresses as were offered to him; and his firmness caused public opinion to rally, if not to turn in his favour. Hamilton left his retirement to defend the measure; and although the people refused to listen to him in public, he advocated it with the pen, in writings that staggered opposition, and actually stemmed the popular torrent.* These exertions of the federalists enabled the president to stand his ground and support the treaty.

In the midst of this, Mr. Randolph was obliged to resign his place as secretary of state. In his anxiety to support the views and party of Jefferson, he had not conducted himself with the prudence that became his station. A letter of his, or rather a conversation of his with the French minister, and transmitted by him to the French government, was intercepted by the British, and laid before the president. It showed that not only the views of Mr. Randolph were at variance with the executive, but his measures to support these views, — making use of the money of the state, — not creditable. They were strongly at variance with that horror of corruption evinced by the anti-federalists in their abuse of Hamilton. But Mr. Randolph had pleased neither party; and in seeking to steer between them, sunk for the time.†

* "There appears a pause at present in public sentiment," writes Jefferson, at this time, "which may be followed by a revulsion. This is the effect of the desertion of the merchants, of the president's chilling answer to Boston and Richmond, of the writings of Curtius and Camillus, and of the quietism into which people naturally fall after first sensations are over."

† See Jefferson's letter to Mr. Giles, December, 1795.

"The fact is, that Randolph has generally given his principles to one party, and his practice to the other—the oyster to one, the shell to the other; — unfortunately the shell was generally the lot of his friends,— the French

Ere the president again met congress, his envoys had almost concluded treaties with Spain, with Algiers, and with the Indians beyond the Ohio. Spain yielded the right to navigate the Mississippi, with a depôt at New Orleans. So that these, united with the British treaty, formed a complete pacific system, which Washington aimed at establishing, ere he retired from the executive, as the last bequest to his country.

The anti-British party were still violent, still strong. The arrival of a new French envoy gave rise, by the extravagant addresses which he made, to a fresh access of enthusiasm in favour of that country. The president kept unswervingly in his path, although now unsupported by any eminent man as minister. He proclaimed the treaty with Great Britain. Although this right was secured to him, conjointly with the senate, by the constitution, the house of representatives still complained that they had not been consulted; and they passed a vote, demanding of the president the communication of the papers and correspondence relative to the treaty. This he firmly refused to comply with, on constitutional grounds, and as a pernicious precedent, stating his reasons at considerable length. But the lower house did not want pretexts for discussing the treaty, and advocating their right to interfere with it. Strong debates ensued. But the great body of the people had too much respect for the founder of their liberties to support a factious and personal opposition to him.

France remained the only country dissatisfied with the conduct of the United States. She thought herself entitled to more than common amity; in fact, to the gratitude and cordial support of a sister republic. The treaty, therefore, between America and Great Britain, had excited the resentment of the directory; and, in-

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and republicans, — and the oyster, of their antagonists. Had he been firm to the principles he professed in 1793, the president would have been kept from an habitual concert with the British and anti-republican party."

Yet Jefferson himself was as obsequious, when in office, as his correspondence with Genet proves.

deed, those articles of it, which allowed the latter country the right of taking French goods from neutral ships, were calculated to excite just complaint. The directory, however, was not content with addressing the legitimate language of remonstrance, to the cabinet of Washington. They directed their envoy to address congress; to appeal from the president to the people, as Genet had done; and so attempt to force the government of that country into a closer alliance with France. These circumstances were somewhat aggravated by Monroe's acting as American envoy in Paris. This gentleman was a Gallican, and an anti-federalist. He was recalled, and Pinkney appointed in his place.

Washington, however, was not able to bring this negotiation, as he had done others, to a term. The period of his second tenure of the presidential office was about to expire, and no consideration could tempt him to admit his re-election. Independent of his age and fatigues, popular clamour had passed, of late, all bounds in its vituperation. He had been assailed, he said, in terms "such as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket." He had been accused of receiving more than his due of the public money. False correspondence was got up, and attributed to him; and the secret papers of government disclosed and made public to his prejudice. But these annoyances were but inducements to make him wish retirement: his reasons were more serious; and the principal of these was, that one person had ruled a sufficient time for a free republic. His intention of retiring from the presidency, Washington announced to the people of the United States in a valedictory address, which, for eloquence and force, and for sound principles on government, must be reckoned as one of the classic records of political wisdom. From this time Washington may be said to have virtually ceased to govern. Public attention was absorbed in the choice of his successor; and although this was not decided until the year 1797, Washington's political career may be considered

as closed some time before. Despite the late frowardness, the legislature were unanimous in the tribute of gratitude and veneration which answered the president's announcement that he addressed them for the last time. In the month of February, 1797, he witnessed the ceremony of his successor's instalment, and soon after retired to his property at Mount Vernon.

Amidst all the victories and high achievements of young America, there is none of which she has so much reason to be proud as the having given birth to Washington. So perfect, so pure, so simple, yet so lofty a character, the modern world had not yet produced. Indeed, a European monarchy could not have produced a Washington. Our social organisation, framed on feudal principles, is too much impregnated with vanity, personal ambition, and the love of precedence, not to have corrupted the colonial officer long ere he became the hero of independence. Not but that monarchies have their worthies, Sidneys and Bayards, a numerous host; but a Washington they could not have, because the first rank of military talent must, amongst these, infallibly inspire some passion of baser alloy. Let Cromwell, and Napoleon, and Marlborough, and Charles XII. be passed with their compeers in view, and it will be seen how even patriotism dwindled as a motive, till utterly lost amidst baser sentiments.

Washington stands alone. As a commander, his character has risen, since men have come to examine it. With an army so doubting in spirit and uncertain in numbers as to have filled any captain with despair, he still achieved what, indeed, probability, rendered hopeless. Cool and imperturbable to bide his time, and, Fabius-like, observe the enemy, he never wanted the impetuosity of Marcellus, when opportunity rendered such advantageous.

As a statesman, his administration forms a monument as glorious as his campaigns. He found a constitution born so feebly, that its very parents were hopeless of its existence; yet he contrived in raising it

to give it force, and communicate to it the principle of maturity. Amidst the storm of adverse parties that gradually arose around him, Washington preserved an impartial sense of what his country demanded; and though latterly he leaned to the side of federalism, and strong institutions, yet it was never so much as to upset the balance; and perhaps the greatest proof of his sagacity, and of the difficulty of this task, is, that his successor, John Adams, failed in the same attempt, and by allowing himself to be borne away by one party, gave to the other the opportunity of successful reaction.

"His mind was great and powerful," says Jefferson, "without being of the first order; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of Newton, Bacon, or Locke; and, as far as he saw, no judgment was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion." He was incapable of fear, being full of calm courage in the field; and though naturally of an "irritable and high-toned temper," he had nevertheless so subdued this by reflection and resolution, that it never interfered with the coolness of his judgment, or with that prudence, which, Jefferson said, was the strongest feature in his character. When greatly moved, his wrath was, however, tremendous. "His heart was not warm in its affections, but he exactly calculated every man's value, and gave him a solid esteem proportioned to it. His person was fine; his stature exactly what one would wish; his deportment easy, erect, and noble. His was the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback. Although in the circle of his friends, where he might be unreserved with safety, he took a free share in conversation, his colloquial talents were not above mediocrity, possessing neither copiousness of ideas, nor fluency of words. In public, when called on for a sudden opinion, he was unready, short, and embarrassed: yet he wrote readily, rather diffusely, in an easy, correct style. This he had acquired by conversation with the world; for his education had been merely reading, writing, and arithmetic.

His time was employed in action chiefly, reading little, and that only in agriculture and English history. His correspondence became necessarily extensive, and, with journalising his agricultural proceedings, it occupied most of his leisure hours within doors. On the whole, his character was in its mass perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance."

CHAP. XIV.

PRESIDENCIES OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

THE retirement of Washington afforded a full opportunity to the two political parties which agitated America, to try their respective strengths. Mr. Adams was proposed by the federals as their new president; Jefferson was put forward by the republicans. The former gentleman, though known to be a monarchist in tendency, as his writings avowed, had still the good fortune to escape obloquy or attack in the dignified, but not prominent, post of vice-president. His character for talent stood highest. All who wished to uphold the policy of Washington were prepared to vote in his favour. He was not supposed to be so biassed respecting France as the extreme federals; and Jefferson himself pronounced him to be "the only sure barrier against Hamilton's getting in." The northern states were all for him; whilst the southerns were by no means united in the support of Jefferson. Adams, in consequence, prevailed, and was declared president; Jefferson, next

to him in the number of votes, was named vice-president.

The conduct of France first occupied the attention of the new government. The executive directory, elated by their new and wondrous career of conquest, were disposed to assume towards foreign powers a tone of imperial arrogance. Mr. Pinkney, the American envoy, considered of the federal rather than of the Gallican party, was informed that "he could not be received till existing grievances had been redressed;" and was, moreover, almost bidden to quit the country. In addition to these insults to Pinkney, Monroe, the former envoy, was addressed, at his audience of leave, in terms so vituperative as to amount almost to a declaration of war. The tone assumed was that of an appeal from the government to the people of the United States; and the minister of France in America had adopted the same tone and conduct in endeavouring to influence the late elections.

Whatever were the previous opinions of the new president, he now displayed himself as sensitive to these insults on the part of France as any of the federals. His speech to congress was couched in warmer and more spirited terms than even Washington would have used. The drawing up an answer to this occasioned a full fortnight's debate in the house of representatives; but at length a reply correspondent to the president's tone and views, was carried by 51 or 52 voices against 48. This showed the balance of parties; proved that Adams still kept the ascendancy, however small, that Washington had done; and that the dread of democratic violence prevailed over the suspicions endeavoured to be awakened of monarchism and an arbitrary executive. This feeling was, no doubt, strengthened greatly by refugees from St. Domingo, who related the dire effects which democratic acts had produced in that island. France, however, was never more formidable. Tidings of her victories poured in; whilst those of England told of bank payments suspended, a mutiny in the fleet, and

the abandonment of her best continental ally. Three envoys were appointed by the president, in consequence, to proceed to France, and beg, if not procure, an accommodation. Pinkney, the former one, was at their head.

All important business was at a stand in America during the latter end of 1797, and beginning of 1798, owing to uncertainty of the result of this mission. On its arrival, the envoys were treated with every slight. They saw M. Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, but were informed that they could not be received by the directory. They had permission to remain in Paris, however, and the agents of M. de Talleyrand, — a female amongst others, — were employed to negotiate with them. The true difficulty in the way of accommodation, in addition to the impertinent arrogance of the directory, seemed to be, that Merlin and others received a great part of the gains accruing from American prizes made by the French. In order to counteract this gold in one hand by gold in the other, Talleyrand demanded a *douceur* of 50,000*l.* for himself and chiefs, besides a loan to be afterwards made from America to France. To extract these conditions, every argument that meanness could suggest was employed by Talleyrand: he demanded to be fee'd as a lawyer, or bribed as a friend. But the Americans were inexorable; and two of their number returned, to announce to their countrymen the terms on which peace was offered. The cupidity of the French government completely turned against it the tide of popular feeling in America. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute," was instantly the general cry; and the president felt his hands strengthened by the demands of the French. Certainly, never did minister show himself less sagacious than M. de Talleyrand in this affair, or more ignorant of the spirit and manners of a nation amongst whom he had resided.

An army was now voted, consisting of twelve new regiments, with engineers and artillery corps. Washington was declared its commander-in-chief. A naval

armament, too, was decided upon, and a new department, — that of the navy — erected into a ministerial office, giving a seat in the cabinet. A land-tax passed congress. An alien bill was passed for getting rid of Volney, Collot, and other French emissaries; and a sedition bill followed it, grievously complained of by the democrats. Communication with France was prohibited, orders issued for capturing any of her vessels that appeared off the coast, and all treaties with that country were declared void. These successive steps were not taken without the opposition of a strong minority in congress, of whom the vice-president, Jefferson, may be considered the leader.

A great part, however, of this brief animosity against France proceeded from an idea that she meant to invade America, and to interfere, under the pretext of giving her some larger share of liberty, such as she had forcibly imposed upon Switzerland. When, however, it was seen, that France had no such ideas of offensive war, and when Talleyrand explained away his former arrogance by more recent declarations to Mr. Gerry, the envoy who had latest left France; and still later by overtures made through Pichon, the French *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague, to Mr. Murray; there was somewhat of a reaction. This became evident in 1799, when the weight of the additional taxes, as also of the restriction laws, had made itself felt. Several states petitioned for the repeal of the alien and sedition acts; whilst in others there was a general resistance to the officers employed on the valuation preparatory to the land-tax. This last spirit showed itself chiefly in the western parts of Pennsylvania,—a tract peopled in great part with Scotch and Irish emigrants, those who had formerly resisted the excise, and who had brought from their native land a strong antipathy to the tax collector.

The president had, however, anticipated this reaction in favour of peace, by appointing Mr. Murray plenipotentiary to the French republic, with a proviso, however, that he was not to enter their territories ere assured of

an honourable reception. The directory had fallen ere that took place; and the first consul, who succeded to their power, had no mercenary interest in prolonging the state of hostility. This was accordingly put a stop to, and a final treaty of peace was signed betwixt France and America in the course of the year 1800. The war, whilst it lasted, had merely given rise to a few encounters at sea, in which the Americans almost always captured their antagonists. Its permanent effects to America, were the creation of its navy, and also a reaction in favour of republicanism, brought about by the harsh laws and levies which Adams thought necessary at the outset of the war.

Ere it terminated, Washington was removed from the scene of his earthly glories. He died of a very short illness, occasioned by cold, and consequent inflammation of the throat, at Mount Vernon, on the 14th of December, 1799. Neither congress nor the nation were wanting in that universal tribute of mourning and veneration due to the illustrious founder of their common freedom. Perhaps the most sensible mark of this veneration was the removal of government and congress to the federal city, of which the site was selected by Washington, and which was to bear his name. In November, 1800, congress opened its sittings at Washington for the first time.

A new trial of strength was now about to take place between the federal and democratic parties, as the four years' term of Mr. Adams's government was about to expire. That statesman, it has been seen, was elected by the predominance of federal principles, in the north-eastern states, as well as by an opinion that his own political feelings were not extreme. No sooner, however, was he possessed of the sovereign functions, than he entered with zeal into anti-Gallican measures, and brought both congress and the country along with him. Adams was thus carried on, in a kind of triumph, and at a speed that left him little master of his course, or of prudent management. Although jealous of Hamilton

and anxious not to tread in his footsteps, the president had flung himself among the Hamiltonian party; and they, as well as his own heat, led him into a series of acts, which displayed all the violent tendencies of the federals. Fleets and armies, judicial offices, taxes, places, were increased; and such strong acts passed for the restraint of sedition and foreign agents, as were evidently borrowed from the school of Pitt. This became more clear, as the martial ardour and indignation of the country cooled; and the strong reaction which we have noticed, took place against Adams and the federals. In vain the former tried to shake off this party, and show himself distinct from them, in the appointment of fresh envoys to France, and in the terms of the treaty concluded. It was too late: the tide of popular feeling ebbed from the federals towards the republicans, and Adams was of course included amongst the former.

On the important question of the presidential election, it was the popular state of New York that held the balance. All those of New England, looked to it. Hitherto the electors had been ever federal. Religious feeling was no small cause of this, which begot hatred to French principles. But as the bugbear grew less fearful, the dread wore off, and New York began also to incline towards the democratic party.* There was a personage at this time in New York, most active as an agent for getting republican votes, and for turning the tide against the federals. This was colonel Burr, a man of some talents, much intrigue, and no principle. Yet so strongly was felt the importance of his agency and of his exertions, that although unknown as an actor in the war of independence, and little known

* Jefferson says, he sees a dawn of better spirit in the New Englanders. "However, what with the English influence in the lower, and the Patroon influence in the upper parts of your state, I presume little is to be hoped. If a prospect could be once opened upon us, of the penetration of truth into the eastern states; if the people there, who are unquestionably republicans, could discover that they have been duped into the support of measures calculated to sap the very foundation of republicanism; we might still hope for salvation, and that it would come, as of old, from the east. But will that region ever awake to the true state of things? Can the middle, southern, and western states hold on till they awake?"—*Letter to Colonel Burr.*

since, he was generally put in nomination throughout all the states, in common with Jefferson, on the republican interest. The southerns, no doubt, did so to remove or neutralise the jealousy of the northerns. When the votes were counted, Adams, supported by the federals, was found completely in the minority. Jefferson and Burr were the names foremost upon the list: by a singular fatality, they had an equal number of votes. When this equality occurred, the power of election lay with the house of representatives; and hither, accordingly, all the efforts of party and intrigue were directed. Some of the federals proposed appointing a temporary executive, and proceeding to a new election. At length, after thirty-five bootless divisions, Jefferson carried the day against Burr, and was declared president, his rival becoming vice-president. The question was decided in February, 1801.

As the party of the federals numbered in its ranks the ever large body of the politically timid, the desertion of these to the republican government of Jefferson gave him, along with the popular support of his own party, a stronger hold of power than had been wielded since the first year of Washington. He proceeded to make the reform for which he had ever laboured. He reduced the army, the navy, the judicial court, the taxes, more especially the odious excise. What he called the *levées* of the president were done away with; and as the appearance of the first magistrate in person, to address congress, savoured too much, in his opinion, of the regal custom of Great Britain, this was to be discontinued, and future communications from the executive to the legislature were to be made in writing. He proceeded to remove gradually from office the most violent of his opponents, in which, however, he made a wise distinction between the monarchical and republican federals. The judges were irremoveable by law, and into the judiciary the "federals retired as into a strong hold." It was in the treasury department that Jefferson chiefly, and with most alacrity, plied the

pruning knife of reform. The abolition of internal taxes enabled him to do away with a great number of offices; and by taking measures for gradually paying the debt, he led the way towards undermining that great patronage and influence of this department, which had been ever with the democrats, the most criminal and anti-republican work of the federals. But we may give the sum of his exertions in his own words:—"The session of the first congress, convened since republicanism has recovered its ascendancy, is now drawing to a close. They will pretty completely fulfil all the desires of the people. They have reduced the army and navy to what is barely necessary. They are disarming executive patronage and preponderance, by putting down one half the offices of the United States, which are no longer necessary. These economies have enabled them to suppress all the internal taxes, and still to make such provision for the payment of their public debt, as to discharge that in eighteen years. They have lopped off a parasite limb, planted by their predecessors, on their judiciary body, for party purposes; they are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries; and we have suppressed all their public forms and ceremonies, which tended to familiarise the public eye to the harbinger of another form of government. The people are nearly all united; their quondam leaders, infuriated with the sense of their impotence, will soon be seen or heard only in the newspapers, which serve as chimneys to carry off noxious vapours and smoke; and all now is tranquil, firm, and well, as it should be."*

An event now occurred, calculated somewhat to disturb the halcyon state which the president here announced. The Americans were congratulating themselves that the restoration of peace in Europe, by the late treaty between England and France, would, by opening the ports of these nations to America, and ridding the sea

* Letter to Kosciusko.

of obstruction, bring about a season of commercial prosperity, such as they had not yet been able to enjoy. The reconciliation of enemies, however, in general, turns to the disadvantage, rather than the advantage, of neutrals. So the Americans found, upon learning that Spain had ceded the province of Louisiana to France; and that Great Britain looked on, well pleased, at an arrangement that would give so troublesome a neighbour as France to the United States.

The attention of the then ruler of France, Bonaparte, was necessarily directed to the recovery of that colonial force which had been lost during the war. His present amity with Britain, opening the ocean to the French fleets, enabled the first consul to form plans of empire in the only region where England would permit, and might applaud the attempt. An expedition was fitted out to recover St. Domingo from the insurgent blacks. After its conquest the army was to take possession of Louisiana; and these united would give to France a certain preponderance in the West Indies, as well as commercial advantages highly to be desired. By these means, indeed, they would have the full command of the Mississippi and the gulf stream itself.

The president no sooner learned these arrangements, than he wrote to Mr. Livingston, the envoy at Paris, to represent there the inexpediency of them, and the danger that would accrue to the good feeling between the people of all nations; he was directed to urge, France was peculiarly the one which offered no point of collision with the United States, and which had been considered, in consequence, their "natural friend;" that, moreover, there was but one spot on the globe whose possession became the natural and immediate enemy of the states; that this was New Orleans, through which three eighths of American produce must pass to find a market; and that France, by assuming this position, took an attitude of defiance and hostility. In this new state of contiguity it was hopeless to think of amity between France and America,

The latter country would be compelled to fling herself into the arms of Great Britain, and to unite with that power in sweeping France from the seas, and subverting all her trans-Atlantic dominion. Towards the close of his instructions, the president urges, that, should France, considering Louisiana as an essential adjunct to her West Indian possessions, remain fixed in the resolve to keep it, the envoy was directed to demand, at least, the cession of the Floridas and New Orleans for a sum of money; though even this alternative was stated as not likely to remove the cause of enmity existing in the newly acquired vicinity of France.

Bonaparte, however, was not the man to yield to mere menace; and the right, which the Americans had hitherto enjoyed, of a depôt at New Orleans, was suspended by the Spanish authorities in October, 1802. The western states were instantly in flame at a prohibition, which, however rightful, had the effect of suspending their commerce. Many of them determined to assert their right by arms; and Jefferson, notwithstanding his partiality for France, would have found himself embarked inevitably in a war with that country, had not other events occurred to obviate the necessity, and to preserve peaceably for the United States more than was the object of their desires. Fortune served Jefferson marvellously at this time; and now effected, though certainly not unseconded by his prudence and address, the most solid achievement of his administration.

France having failed in the attempt to subdue St. Domingo, and, in addition to this, a fresh breach with England growing daily more imminent; the scheme of the first consul with respect to Louisiana became impracticable. He could not hope to retain it: so that instead of accepting the offer of Jefferson to pay Spain for the Floridas, he proposed to sell Louisiana itself. The American envoys, Livingston and Monroe, accepted the offer, and the immense tracts of Louisiana were added to the United States for the sum

of 30,000,000 dollars. When it was afterwards objected, that the Floridas and New Orleans would have formed a more important acquisition, the president replied, that now the Floridas were surrounded, and could not in time be prevented from becoming theirs,—a prediction subsequently accomplished. Another objection made to the acquisition was, that the western states had already a considerable tendency to separate from their eastern brethren; and that when reinforced by Louisiana, with New Orleans for a probable capital, they would infallibly, one day or other, separate and form a new union The president boldly replied to this, that he saw no inconvenience in the separation; that he only looked upon the Atlantic states and the Mississippi ones as elder and younger brethren, who might remain united as long as it was their interest and happiness; and that there could be no objection to their separating, as soon as it became their advantage so to do. The remote object of the American government in securing Louisiana was obvious; its immediate purpose seems to have been, to get rid of an European neighbour, and, secondly, to have a tract whither the Indian tribes eastward of the Mississippi might be transferred.*

The Barbary states still gave great impediment to the commerce of the United States. Agreements had, indeed, been entered into with the two principal ones, and sums of money sacrificed to secure the respect of the African corsairs. But the lesser of these powers demanded their share of tribute, and not meeting with acquiescence, the bashaw of Tripoli declared and commenced war. Jefferson, an enemy of all establishments incurring expense, had curtailed the navy on his accession to power. This had proved of advantage, however; for the squadrons, raised for defence against the French, had been hastily equipped and manned,

* The government of Louisiana was offered to La Fayette and declined by him. He received the grant, however, of 12,000 acres in the new state.

and officered, more especially, in a manner little likely to do honour to the service. The fleet, being reduced to nine frigates, had allowed of selection in these retained, and was now augmented gradually. The service became popular; the sons of the better orders entered the navy as aspirants; and the war with Tripoli is allowed to have communicated a new spirit of gentility, as well as of discipline and enterprise, to the navy of the United States.

A force under commodore Morris was first despatched against Tripoli; but it consisted chiefly of gun-boats and cruizers, which merely annoyed and led to partial and individual conflicts, which had not the effect of producing submission. A blockade was next attempted, which would have ended, probably, in the usual disgraceful yielding of tribute, but for the enterprise of the United States' consul at Algiers. This gentleman, whose name was Eaton, discovered a pretender to the government of Tripoli in an exiled brother of the reigning bashaw. The consul sought him out across the desert, collected a body of such adventurers as haunt these wilds, and invaded Tripoli from land, whilst the American fleet co-operated with the expedition from sea. The invading force was met by its foe, and obtained over him some success; upon which the bashaw, alarmed, thought fit to abate the arrogance of his demands, and conclude an accommodation with an American envoy who was on board the fleet.

In the interior of the United States, what was called *republicanism* completely triumphed; as it could scarcely avoid doing, being, in fact, now synonymous merely with great frugality of expense, paucity of public offices and employment, and a total abdication on the part of government of all influence, save what the wisdom and popularity of its measures might give. It was seen to produce neither anarchy, nor, as yet, war; and the fears of the old federals on this head appeared to have been groundless. In the great mass of the people, *republicanism*, as Jefferson's party principle was called,

was triumphant; and the opposition to it still lingered in those states only whose commercial prosperity demanded a close connection with England, and in those regions where religious feelings and traditions inspired a wish for the same connection. Jefferson himself was an avowed enemy to a church establishment, and to every thing bordering upon the domination of one sect over another; and, indeed, he effected, by successive exertions, a total erasure of all laws contradictory to this principle from the statute-book of his country. These principles greatly swelled the number of his opponents. The president was, however, re-elected to his second term of four years, with little that deserved the name of opposition. Burr, the vice-president, was ousted, and Clinton, of New York, was chosen in his place.

Previous to entering upon the serious difference that now arose between America and the two great European states, especially England, colonel Burr's singular enterprise must be mentioned. We have seen by what means this individual acquired an equality of votes with Jefferson for the presidency. The greatest blot, indeed, upon the American constitution, is this very circumstance,—that a man without character or principle was enabled not only to dispute, but almost to carry, the place of temporary sovereign. Over-precipitancy lost it to him: he intrigued with the federals for their votes against Jefferson; and his finesse and dishonesty alienated previous supporters, and lowered him into the vice-presidency. There was not a vote for him in the second election. Jefferson despised him, and rejected all his solicitations for employment; and the restless Burr turned his views to some adventurous enterprise.

All attempts to liberate the Spanish colonies, and communicate the same freedom and independence to the southern portion of America that was already enjoyed by the northern, were naturally popular in the United States. General Miranda had planned such an expedition against the Caraccas, and had sailed from New York with this view, although Jefferson had given him

no protection. Of this last, however, there might be a doubt; for Spain had long resisted the transfer of Louisiana, had made an inroad into it in one instance, and there were serious and mutual causes of complaint between the countries.

Colonel Burr, considering this state of things, formed a project of fitting out an expedition in the western part of the union, and proceeding thence to the conquest of Mexico. As the first step to this, he was to seize upon New Orleans, which was necessary to his enterprise. This having been long a favourite project of the wild western settlers, Burr reckoned upon the support of the thousands—in fact, of the whole region west of Alleghanies—which he calculated would place him in a position to defy the control of the president himself, were he tempted to interfere. However popular the idea had been, Burr overlooked the material change in circumstances effected by the acquisition of Louisiana, which, in fact, gratified all the wants and wishes of the westerns. A more criminal part of his enterprise was an understanding with the Spanish governor in Mexico for separating the western from the Atlantic states, and forming, as it were, another union for himself, since the old had spurned him. The fact of overtures of this kind having been made cannot be doubted, but their sincerity may well be questioned; and that Burr, however serious his designs were upon Mexico, ever designed to separate the union, is denied by his friends, some of whom were and are of great respectability.

However this may be, he trusted too much to the good will of those who witnessed his preparations. Intelligence of his proceedings was conveyed to the government. Measures were taken for counteracting them, and making him prisoner; and being, at length, obliged to fly, he was arrested on his way to Mobile, by some of the country people. Dr. Erich Bollmar, who was his chief confederate in the affair, was also arrested; and confessed all that he knew, with the intention and view, however, of exculpating, rather than inculpating, Burr.

Jefferson now showed himself inclined to be harsh towards a man who had been his rival, and who had been long connected with the federal party. That party exerted itself, consequently, in Burr's defence; and a question of a nature purely judicial became a political matter. It was not attempted, indeed, to defend Burr's character; but the criminality of his conduct was palliated. The judges were all federal, having been appointed by the old government. The chief justice, Marshall, the biographer of Washington, was himself so; and this gave rise to suspicions, on the part of the president, of their fairness, and of resistance on their part to his mandates. They even summoned himself to appear before the court, then sitting in the western country; and mutual recrimination passed between the executive and judicial authorities, tending very much to discredit the whole system of government. Thus Burr was destined to inflict two blots on the American constitution. He was finally acquitted, and allowed to transport himself to Europe.

It was the fate of Jefferson, as of Washington, to be the object of much more violent attacks and enmities in his second term of power than in his first. The nature, indeed, of free and representative states seems to demand a certain proportion in the two parties that divide the national opinion. When one side is annihilated or reduced to feebleness, the prevalent majority itself tends instantly to split into fragments; one side or shade of opinion seeming to be too narrow for even the diverse characters of men, without taking into account their interests or ambition. Thus the very republicans, when triumphant under Jefferson, began to separate; and those who agreed fully on the president's policy respecting government influence, public debts, and internal administration, began now to question the wisdom or fairness of his leaning to France.* John Randolph,

* See Jefferson's letter to Bowdoin of July, 1806, where he says, — "The object of war with Spain and France, and an alliance with England, which, at the last session of congress, drew off from the *republican* band about half a dozen of its members," &c.

member for Virginia, was one of those eminent men, who at this period deserted the standard of Jefferson, and transferred his great, and, in America, his almost unique, powers of eloquence to the opposite side.

Complaints against England increased. In 1804, the president, in his speech to congress, had congratulated them, that annoyances to trade had ceased in Europe, though they still existed in the American seas. In December, 1805, however, he announced that the aspect of foreign relations was totally changed. He represented the coasts as infested by foreign privateers, who were in the habit of burning those captures to which they thought their claim questionable; and by public vessels, which pried into every creek and harbour. He spoke of new principles of commerce adopted, by which belligerents take to themselves that right of trading with the hostile country which they deny to neutrals. He concluded by expressing a doubt whether there was need of increasing the army; but the militia, he recommended, should be put in a state of defence, and the active portion of it separated from the more sedentary.

These warlike intimations were occasioned by decrees of the British admiralty, which had the effect of prohibitory laws upon American commerce. Previous to this, it had been allowed not only to import West Indian produce into the United States, but to export it thence to Europe: the communication prohibited by a direct channel, being thus permitted by the circuitous route. It appeared, however, that, in the United States, this produce neither landed nor paid duty, the latter being nominal. The British courts of admiralty thought fit, in consequence, to declare such vessels legal prizes, so that even circuitous trade was at once cut off.

This, as soon as it was known, excited the greatest annoyance and resentment in America. Meetings were held in each commercial city, petitions were forwarded to the legislature, and the republicans clamoured loudly for retaliation; so that the president did but obey the

public voice in making this vigorous and almost menacing address. Not content with it, he followed it up by a message to the same import, in the January immediately following. The federals objected, that France and Spain committed equal encroachments, without exciting the president's ire in any such proportion. But in this they exaggerated, since the perseverance of England in impressing American seamen, and searching American ships for deserters, and that even upon their own coasts, produced daily causes of grievance far more numerous and irritating than the commercial decrees of the French ruler. In the spring of 1806, the British ship the Leander, then on a cruise off New York, practised the most rigid search and annoyances towards the vessels from that port. On one occasion a shot from it killed an American sailor of the name of Pearce. No sooner did a report of this reach the United States government, than an angry proclamation appeared, accusing the captain of the Leander of murder, forbidding any communication between the shore and that ship, and, in fact, ordering it off the coast. This was followed up by a more serious legislative act against any further importation of British manufactures, the restriction to date from the ensuing November.

Special envoys had, however, been despatched to Britain, for the arrangement of existing differences. Their success in this mission became much more probable by the change of administration, which had lately taken place in that country: and, indeed, upon learning the accession of Mr. Fox to power, the president was inclined to abate somewhat of the hostile and angry tone previously adopted towards England.* Other envoys were at the same time in Paris, endeavouring to effect an accommodation with Spain and France; differences

* Jefferson writes to Monroe, then envoy in London,—"We had committed ourselves in a line of proceedings adapted to meet Mr. Pitt's policy and hostility, before we heard of his death, which self-respect did not permit us to abandon afterwards. It ought not to be viewed by the present ministry as looking towards them at all, but merely as the consequence of the measures of their predecessor, which their nation has called on them to correct."

existing still with the former about Florida, and with the latter about commercial restrictions and decrees. The president, indeed, hoped, even at this early period, to acquire Florida by purchase; and by this hope he was evidently drawn from being too obsequious to the British. In London, colonel Monroe and Mr. Pinkney soon came to an amicable understanding with lords Holland and Auckland. The latter consented to permit the circuitous trade between the West Indies and Europe, to the Americans, during the present war, these stipulating to repeal their non-importation act. With respect to the impress of seamen no agreement could be come to. The American envoys could, indeed, propose no feasible plan, such was the difficulty in distinguishing seamen of the two nations. However, as the British negotiators promised that fresh orders should be issued to the navy, restraining their arbitrary practice in this respect, Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney agreed to sign the treaty. It reached America early in 1807; but the president refused to ratify it. He objected to the abandonment of all satisfaction respecting the impress of seamen, and disavowed what his negotiators had done; suspending, nevertheless, the operation of the non-importation act.

If the efforts for an accommodation thus failed during the existence of a whig government in England, all hopes of such an end vanished when the tories returned to power; and the influence of this was soon felt, even upon the American coasts. The British navy resumed its inveteracy against the Americans: one instance occurred productive of the greatest irritation. In the month of June, an English man-of-war, coming up with the Chesapeake American frigate, demanded the delivery of some deserters. The captain of the Chesapeake refused to allow his ship to be searched; on which his vessel was fired into, some of her crew slain, and herself carried away captive. The Americans assert that there were no English seamen on board: but some of the prisoners were tried at Halifax, and one unfortu-

nate man hanged as a deserter, to prove the rightfulness of the capture. The president, on his side, issued a resentful proclamation, and mentioned the insults in his address to congress. The British government, however, disavowed the conduct of its officers, and forbade the right of search to be extended to ships of war.

While these concessions were made to the national pride of America, more serious restrictions and prohibitions were placed upon their commerce. By his Berlin decree of 1806, Bonaparte had forbidden the introduction of any English goods to the Continent, even in neutral vessels, and shut the harbours of France against any vessel that should touch at an English port. In retaliation, the whig ministry had prohibited the trade of neutrals, from port to port belonging to their enemies. This retaliation was mild, and ineffectual. But the tories had not been long in power, when an order in council appeared, declaring the whole coast of Europe in a state of blockade, and prohibiting neutral vessels altogether from that trade. In defence of this, it was pleaded, that America, having submitted to the Berlin decree, hostile to England, it was but fair to impose upon her restrictions that would equally operate against France. Bonaparte soon after thundered forth a still more severe edict, confiscating not only the vessels that should touch at an English port, but such also as should submit to the English right of search. This was, indeed, carrying hostilities to an extreme length. The great powers of the land and sea, unable to measure their strength, since each was predominant in its own element, came to vent their blows upon America.

It was in vain that the government of the United States expostulated with them. To England it denied having submitted to the decrees of the French ruler; to the latter it represented the indefeasible rights of neutrals. "Join with me in bringing England to reason," was the reply of Bonaparte, who was blind to all objects and reasons, except that of humbling his arch-enemy. America was, in consequence, left to

choose which of the belligerents she should take for foes, since both at once might prove too powerful for her, and neutrality persevered in only exposed her vessels to capture, without retaliation,— to the disadvantages, in fact, without the advantages of war.

Here the parties which divided the state were at issue. Jefferson leaned to France as a natural ally, and against England as a maritime rival. In opposition, the federals, and many of the republicans, with Randolph at their head *, maintained the alliance with England as preferable, not only looking to the commercial and internal prosperity of the country, but to the balance of power in Europe. The people of America, however, were too inveterate against Britain, as their old enemy, and irritated moreover by the searching of their ships, and impress of their seamen, to admit of the matter being coolly decided. The anti-British party prevailed in congress, as in public. Still they were enabled to keep up the show of impartiality between the belligerents. Congress, in December, 1807, decreed an embargo, or prohibition, to American vessels to leave their ports; a measure that operated far more to the disadvantage of England, and of her friends in America, than to France. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson, in his correspondence, owns, that it was a measure preparatory to war, allowing the merchants to recal home their ships and sailors, and the country to put itself into a posture of defence. Seen in this light, it produced many murmurs, especially in the New England states; but the edict was rigidly enforced by government.

During the course of the year 1808, no progress was made towards an accommodation. Mr. Rose was obliged to leave the United States in the spring of that year having failed in his object. To demands made by the United States of both the great European rivals to recall their obnoxious decrees, France deigned no answer; whilst Mr. Canning returned one that was considered

* The speech of J. Randolph, and other pamphlets, and Edinburgh Review, vol. ii.

"insulting." In the mean time the distress occasioned by the embargo increased, and became too strong for the United States government to hope to continue it. The president evidently meditated the alternative of war; and his opening speech to congress breathed this spirit. But dissent from this opinion had grown too general and too strong; and this was especially proclaimed in the report drawn up by the house of representatives of Massachusetts, which declared the embargo ruinous at home, unsatisfactory to France, and ineffectual as retaliation upon England. It recommended the repeal of the embargo, as well as of that act, so obnoxious to England, which forbade their ships to enter American waters, whilst those of France were permitted. Congress itself immediately took up the question, and discussed the several alternatives of submission, war with both countries, and war with one. From all these the assembly as yet shrunk; and it was proposed to modify the embargo, so as to continue the prohibition of intercourse with France and England, whilst trade was left open with other powers. There was a good deal of vacillation in the votes and intentions of congress on this point. At first a disposition was shown to remove the embargo altogether; but at length, non-intercourse with the belligerents, and allowance of trade with other European countries, was adopted in February, 1809.

At the same period expired the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, who retired, as Washington had done, to his farm at Monticello, giving up the chair of president to Mr. Madison, late secretary of state. However secondary the name and fame of Jefferson may seem to those classic ones of the revolution—Washington and Franklin—his influence is likely to be much more considerable and permanent than that of these memorable persons. Their efforts, in conjunction with his, were directed to the great general task of freedom and independence; but, in addition to this, Jefferson has founded a school of political principle and party, which has swallowed up all others in the United States, and which is likely to be

professed more or less by every free people. His principles are those, no doubt, of the French republicans; but their short-lived and stormy reign never allowed time for the development of a principle. They proclaimed them, but had not time to act upon them, before they were cut down. But Jefferson stood long enough, and wrote, and spoke, and overcame, so as to infuse his own spirit into the majority. He exists, indeed, in history, as a model of the republican statesman—bold and levelling in his principles, and shrinking from none of their consequences. From some of these, from both perhaps, the monarchist of Europe may shrink. But argument is idle on such a subject: the great phenomenon is there, and, though yet incomplete, the experiment is in progress. The political government that Jefferson conceived is realised in that of the United States; and should it prove a happy one, durable, prosperous, and great (and there is every prospect of its continuing, as there is proof of its being so), it will be vain to find fault with the principles which have given birth to such a state. Of Jefferson's private honesty there is irrefragable proof. The property of one who had been the greater part of his life either the minister or the sovereign of his country, was sold to pay his debts.

A new reign, whether of king or president, generally commences with fair promises on one side, and hopes on the other, of a change. It is a period of congratulation and politeness. Mr. Madison was declared to want the inveterate republicanism and anti-British feeling of his predecessor. He had been the first to propose the federal union, and his political career since had not been marked as that of a partisan. These considerations raised the hopes of the English resident in America, that some arrangement might be made. The repeal of the embargo, and the substitution of a less obnoxious act, offered a fit and favourable pretext for renewing negotiations; more especially as a clause was inserted in the later act, to the purpose, that if either of the belligerents

should recal its hostile edicts, a proclamation of the executive should suffice to suspend the non-intercourse with respect to that belligerent.

Mr. Erskine accordingly received from Mr. Canning, the English secretary of state, powers to treat, together with instructions as to the points to be insisted on. He was to consent to withdraw the orders in council on the essential points, on certain preliminary conditions, such as the prohibition against English ships appearing in American waters being repealed, and the abandonment of the right claimed by the United States to trade with such of the enemy's colonies as she was not permitted to trade with in peace. Overlooking these altogether, Mr. Erskine considered the suspension of the non-intercourse as a fair equivalent for that of the orders in council, and did not hesitate to stipulate, accordingly, that these should cease to be in force at a certain epoch. The president, accordingly, suspended the non-intercourse. But tidings no sooner reached England of the obsequious haste of Mr. Erskine, than he was disavowed. The orders in council were suspended only so far as not to endanger those vessels which had sailed from America on the faith of Mr. Erskine's declaration. The president, in consequence, declared the non-intercourse act as still in force, and the silent war of prohibitory edicts continued on its old footing.

These blunders in diplomacy were singularly unfortunate, since they had the effect of irritating and giving rise to hateful suspicions. The Americans believed that Mr. Erskine had acted in consequence of his instructions, and that the disavowal was an act of capricious hostility on the part of the British minister. The parliamentary opposition in England took the same view; and a partial production of the correspondence accredited the belief, which afterwards, however, was proved to be erroneous. But the effect was tantamount. Erskine was recalled, and Mr. Jackson sent in his place. The latter was as ill-chosen as the former; since there was some cause which rendered him particularly obnoxious to

the Americans. He was received with studied coldness, and made to wait even for his recognition for a long time. His endeavours to renew the broken negotiation were met by the remark of the inutility of such an attempt, and by an allusion to the duplicity of the British government in the affair of Erskine. Jackson retorted with warmth. His observations were considered as insults; and, on this plea, further communication with him was declined, and his recall demanded of the minister in London.

France having been again applied to by America at this time, the emperor replied, that his decrees were but retaliation; and that if England recalled her blockade and her orders in council, he would suffer his decrees to be considered null. Mr. Madison took advantage of this apparent fairness on the part of the French ruler, and obtained from the majority of congress divers resolutions, approving of the high and defiant tone of policy observed by him towards England. The state of Massachusetts alone protested; but the unfortunate disavowal and ambiguity about Erskine rendered the opinion of this one state now uninfluential. Preparations for war continued with activity; and the people already began to turn their attention and capital to the domestic production of those manufactures with which Great Britain had been in the habit of more cheaply supplying them. England, at the same time, began to seek elsewhere those commodities which the United States had furnished: she sought them in Canada chiefly. The alienations and mutual injury thus worked by commercial prohibitions were, perhaps, greater than could have come of actual war.

The conduct of Mr. Madison and the American government to the British envoy, showed such signs of a leaning towards France, and, indeed, such an imitation of Napoleon's own behaviour on similar occasions, that the emperor became more obsequious. The non-intercourse act expiring in 1810, the Americans again summoned the two powers to remove their restrictions.

This was asked with the manifest purpose of declaring war; the latter being the only alternative, if the restrictions were not removed; since the Americans could not consent to abandon the sea altogether. To this Bonaparte replied by an amicable advance, intimating, through his minister, that his decrees should be suspended. It was understood by him, of course, that America should no longer submit to the orders in council if unrepealed. To the English ministry an appeal was now made to follow the example of France. Unfortunately they hesitated, chicaned as to the supposed insincerity of the French declaration, or the informality of its announcement; and feeling that the demand was accompanied by menace, they held out more from pique than policy.

No conduct could have been more ill-judged: it served all the purposes of the anti-British in America, and flung the United States completely into the arms of France, whose vessels were now admitted to the ports of the former, whilst the interdict against the English was renewed. The British minister seems to have inferred that the French emperor could not be sincere in his declarations to consider his decrees no longer in force; since such would have broken through that continental system, which was known to be his most fixed principle. In vain did the American envoy offer proof of his assertion in this respect. Reply was evaded; and at length, Mr. Pinkney demanded his audience of leave, determined to put an end to a mission that was hopeless.

In this doubtful state of connection between America and England, another accidental collision took place between vessels of the respective countries, tending much to inflame and widen the existing differences. An English sloop of war, the Little Belt, commanded by captain Bingham, descried a ship off the American coast, and made sail to come up with it; but finding it a frigate, and dubious of its nation, he retired. The other, which proved to be American, the President, under captain Rogers, pursued in turn. Both captains

hailed nearly together; and both, instead of replying, hailed again; and from words, as it were, came to blows, without explanation — the larger ship, of course, maltreating the smaller. Captain Bingham lost upwards of thirty men.

The Americans continued making every preparation for war. Fortifications were carried on at New York and New Orleans. This latter position was, indeed, the vulnerable part of the confederacy. It was so felt, and divers plans were proposed: one for a kind of military colony; that is, to grant lands to a body of men, on the condition of their being trained, and ready to take arms, should an enemy appear off the coast. But this plan, so little in accordance with the spirit of a free government, was not adopted. West Florida was, however, taken possession of, to cut the Gordian knot of difference on the subject with Spain. The moment was such as allowed the ungenerous advantage to be taken; Spain herself being occupied by the French, whilst her colonies were torn by civil wars. This formed another item of complaint and remonstrance on the part of the British.

In the spring of 1811, Mr. Foster was sent out plenipotentiary from England, to make another attempt at negotiation. But, as he had no power for stipulating the repeal of the orders in council, his mission was illusive: it was merely productive of argument and diplomatic pleading between him and Mr. Monroe. The British envoy contended, that it was France, not England, which commenced the blockade, prohibiting neutrals; and that the repeal of her decrees was merely nominal. The American replied that the wrongs of France against his nation, afforded no plea for the wrongs of England to be wreaked on it also: he moreover said, that France was sincere. Such arguments were of little avail. Mr. Foster returned without having effected any thing.

In the November following, congress was called together; and president Madison addressed it fully respect-

ing the points and consequences of the still widening difference. It was hoped, he said, at the close of last session, that the successive confirmation of the extinction of the French decrees would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council: on the contrary, however, they had been put into more rigorous execution, and fresh outrages had been committed on the American coasts. "Notwithstanding the scrupulous justice, the protracted moderation, and the multiplied efforts on the part of the United States to substitute for the accumulating dangers to the peace of the two countries all the mutual advantages of re-established friendship and confidence, we have seen that the British cabinet perseveres, not only in withholding a remedy for other wrongs, so long and so loudly calling for it, but in the execution, brought home to the threshold of our territory, of measures which, under existing circumstances, have the character, as well as the effect, of war on our lawful commerce. With this evidence of hostile inflexibility, in trampling on rights which no independent nation can relinquish, congress will feel the duty of putting the United States into an armour and an attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." This was followed up by demands of increase in the army, the navy, and all military stores and establishments.

In this address, the president took occasion to allude to a new spirit of hostility displayed amongst the north-western Indians. Party attributed this to British gold and interference. The cause was evident, however, in the appearance of an Indian prophet, a reformer, who preached to his red brethren, that all their disasters had been owing to their having forsaken the wise and simple habits of their ancestors; and that he had been prompted by the Great Spirit to warn them from mingling with the whites, from eating hogs and bullocks, in lieu of the game that used to give them the warrior's and the hunter's spirit; and, above all, from the use of ardent

spirits. This last salutary injunction gave force and truth to all that the savage prophet uttered. This fanatic advice, however salutary in one respect, necessarily produced hatred towards the whites, and outrages upon them. General Harrison was despatched against the Indians in the autumn of 1811. The savages, at first, appeared friendly; but it was only to cover the purpose of a night assault, which proved almost fatal to the American force: it lost considerable numbers, but succeeded in repulsing the enemy.

The winter of 1811–12 passed in preparations for immediate war, as the British government, then for the first time elated with military success, showed no signs of yielding. However, the friends of peace and of America exerted themselves in parliament to deter the ministry from the rash act of adding the United States to the number of its enemies; and this, for the support of commercial prohibition warranted neither by just pride nor wise policy. The marquis of Lansdowne, in the house of lords, and Mr. Brougham, in the commons, moved for a committee to take into consideration the orders in council. "If," said the former statesman, "at the time of the revolution in America, any one could have foreseen that the whole commerce of continental Europe would have fallen under the iron grasp and dominion of France, they would have looked to the establishment of an independent state on the other side of the Atlantic, out of the reach of French power, to become the carrier of our commerce and the purchaser of our manufactures, as the greatest boon that could have been given us. Such an event has occurred, as if providentially: yet this great and inestimable advantage has been destroyed by the orders in council."

A majority in both houses voted for going into committee. Petitions from the manufacturing towns of England poured in against the orders; and when the report of the committee was brought up, the general voice of the country and of parliament compelled the

abandonment by the tories of their obnoxious orders. It was too late, however. The eloquence of Brougham, — and never was greater shown both with tongue and pen,—prevailed, but prevailed in vain. On the arrival of a ship from England, bringing no satisfactory tidings, the president, with, indeed, unwarrantable precipitation, — for he must have known of the proceedings in the English parliament,— sent a message to congress, recapitulating all the causes of complaint against Britain, (amongst which the stirring up of the Indians on the Wabash was not forgotten,) and recommended a formal declaration of war. Congress acceded to the proposal; and, notwithstanding the energetic protest of the federals in opposition, war was declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812.

CHAP. XV.

WAR OF 1812—1815

THE question of the rights of neutral powers, and the opposite claims of belligerents to control them in their communications with the enemy, is the most knotty and difficult in the whole circuit of international law. Argument and negotiation on the subject are interminable; and they proved so in the present instance. Great Britain, or its ministry, conscious of being lord of the ocean, employed, certainly, that arrogant kind of logic, in which the superior generally indulges towards an inferior. In combating Bonaparte, Britain caught, or, perhaps, was obliged to adopt, no small portion of his lawless, imperious, and somewhat ungenerous nature. "The mammoth of the land, and the leviathan of the sea," as Jefferson characterised France and England in their long struggle for life and death,

cared little what blows a third party might chance to receive, especially when that third party was but a second-rate power. Party feelings and narrow policy came in aid of this. Political sentiments at the time were raised to all the rancour of personal ones; and the English tory welcomed the enmity of the American republican, as individuals brave injury to gratify spite. The American party in power were equally rancorous and precipitate; and Mr. Madison, though certainly unactuated by that broad, uncompromising principle, which turned Jefferson against England, went even beyond that statesman in the expression of resentment. In Madison, the hostility seemed personal rather than patriotic: he wanted the grandeur and forbearance of his predecessor.

One proof of this is, his bringing the case of Henry before congress, in order to excite the animosity of the country against England, at a time when even the republicans were shrinking from the necessary sacrifices and burdens consequent upon war. Certain states, that of Massachusetts especially, have been represented as most averse to hostilities with England, and to those measures by which the existing government of the union tended to that end. The federals in this region not only protested, but meditated the preservation of a state of neutrality, if that were possible without dissolving the union. In fact, as a sovereign and independent state, Massachusetts did not like to be dragged into war against its consent. To take advantage of this strong dissent and disunion, the governor of Canada had, it seems, sent an agent to New England. It was, indeed, an unwarrantable step; and so criminal was the design, that some even of the federals denounced it. Jefferson owns that he first learned it through the younger Adams, as early as the time of the embargo. Instead of making any preliminary complaint or communication to the British government, Mr. Madison brought it forward in congress; and it tended considerably to inflame the American mind against England, and to screw it up

to that pitch requisite to set aside the consideration of the risk and great expenses of the war.

This step was undertaken also for the purpose, no doubt, of intimidating the anti-war party of the eastern states. This party was still considerable: it counted a minority on the decisive vote of 49 to 79: and even since it continued to protest and petition. At Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, — that town which, one may say, had commenced the war of independence, — the flags of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, in token of mourning for the war of 1812. The southern states were as violent in support of the contrary opinion; and Baltimore was more especially signalised for its anti-English zeal. A federal paper here dared to brave the prevalent opinion. A mob was excited to attack the establishment, which was defended against them; and force arriving, the defenders, not the offenders, were taken to prison. But this did not secure them. The prison doors were broken open next day, and many of the federals massacred; among whom were two veteran generals, friends of Washington.

Except rencontres between single ships, the only theatre of war in the United States was the Canadian position; and thither accordingly their efforts were turned. Attempts to call out the militia in Upper Canada had been productive of disturbances in which the troops and the inhabitants had mutually fired upon each other. This encouraged the Americans to an invasion, and an army was collected for that purpose in the north.

The ruling party, indeed, seemed to have had the most sanguine hopes of success; and Mr. Madison expected to illustrate his presidency by the acquisition of Canada, as his predecessor's had been by that of Louisiana. If, with a population of four millions, they had beaten England from the United States, surely, it was argued, with the present population of eight millions, it could not be difficult to expel them from America altogether. Offensive operations are, however, very different from defensive ones, especially when the

latter are at home. In this case, the people, being the soldiers, suffice for themselves: in the former, there must not only be an army, but generals, and, what is perhaps still more difficult, a war minister of capacity. Neither in Mr. Madison, nor in his cabinet, was the latter to be found; whilst, for commanding officers, the only persons to be chosen were the veterans of the revolution, little apt for such a task by disuse and age, as well as by their inexperience of the great changes in military science. General Dearborne was created commander-in-chief; Pinkney, major-general Wilkinson, Hampton, Hull, were the other names on the list of commanding officers.

General Hull was governor of the Michigan territory. Not much more than a fortnight after the declaration of war, he collected a body of upwards of 2000 troops of the line and militia, and pushed over the frontier, as if he intended to attack Montreal, publishing, at the same time, an arrogant proclamation. His subsequent movements were as dilatory as his previous haste; and upon hearing that the Indians had invaded his province upon another point, and that the English general Brock was at the head of a respectable force, Hull retreated. He was pursued by Brock, who besieged him in Fort Detroit, and was about to try the fortune of an assault, when the American commander, panic-struck, hoisted the white flag, and surrendered, with his fort and army, to the surprise and indignation of the Americans.

This signal defeat took place in August. As the blame was thrown upon the pusillanimity of the commanders, in little more than a month an American force was again collected upon the same position. On this occasion it was thought advisable not to risk an invasion, the aim being rather to master some neighbouring post, which might make amends for the loss of Detroit. Queenstown, on the Niagara, was fixed on as the object of attack. An American division, under colonel Van Rennselaer, crossed with the view of mastering it.

They stormed it gallantly; but general Brock arrived at the moment of success, and drove the Americans back. Whilst reinforcements arrived to the British, the American militia refused to cross the river to reinforce their party; and, in short, shrunk from the fight. The English, therefore, remained complete victors, capturing all who had crossed to the assault. It was, however, with the loss of the gallant Brock, who was shot whilst cheering on his men, during the doubtful period of the conflict.

Thus, upon land, the advantages of this first campaign rested altogether with the British. It was at sea, on the element where they felt most secure, that their superiority was seriously disputed. About the very time that general Hull surrendered in Detroit, a captain Hull, commanding the Constitution frigate, fell in with the British frigate the Guerrière. An engagement ensued; when, in half an hour, the latter was so totally disabled, as not only to be obliged to surrender, but to be burned by her captors. This quick and destructive effect tends strongly to corroborate the assertion of the British, who report that the Constitution, nominally mounting but forty-four guns, was, in reality, little short of a seventy-four. The Guerrière mounted but thirty-eight guns. Another great advantage on the side of the Americans in these partial combats, was the paucity of their ships of war, which enabled them to have picked crews, and very often British seamen.

A similar result, pleaded by English officers and writers as proceeding from the same causes, came of a combat between the frigates, the United States, commanded by commodore Decatur, and the Macedonian. The latter, after having suffered dreadfully and unaccountably in men and vessel, was obliged to surrender. These encounters, and the arguments they gave rise to, strongly sharpened the animosities on both sides, and cheered the American war-party for the disappointments which they experienced by land.

The opposition, indeed, experienced by the adminis-

tration in the eastern states was such as would have deterred less inveterate men from war altogether. There the federalists prevailed, met in convention, and passed resolutions calculated to paralyse the efforts of the government. They criticised and protested against the war with England, pointed out the advantages that would have accrued from one with France, declared their abhorrence of any alliance whatever with Bonaparte, reprobated the conduct of government in persisting in war after the revocation of the orders in council, and asserted it to be unconstitutional and illegal to employ the militia of the states in offensive warfare. On the last ground, Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to furnish their contingent for the invasion of Canada. By the ministerialists this opposition was stigmatised as treason; and the views of the Essex junto, as they called the federalists, were said to extend to a dissolution of the union.*

The latter, certainly, had some ground of complaint against the inveteracy of government, in not accepting the offer made by sir Borlase Warren, who, stating the repeal of the orders in council, had proposed an armistice. But the president did not think fit to give pause to war, without the prospect of a satisfactory peace;

* Jefferson has fully recorded *his* opinion of these parties: it must be taken, however, as the testimony of an opponent. After accusing the leaders of a wish to establish monarchy, he proceeds:—

"A weighty minority of these leaders, considering the voluntary conversion of our government into a monarchy as too distant, if not desperate, wish to break off from our union its eastern fragments, as being, in truth, the hot-bed of American monarchism, with a view to a commencement of their favourite government, from whence the other states may gangrene by degrees, and the whole be thus brought finally to the desired point. For Massachusetts, the prime mover in this enterprise, is the last state in the union to mean a final separation, as being of all the most dependent on the others. Not raising bread for the sustenance of her own inhabitants, not having a stick of timber for the construction of vessels—her principal occupation—nor an article to export in them, where would she be, excluded from the ports of the other states, and thrown into dependence on England, her direct and natural, 'but now insidious rival?' At the head of this minority is what is called the Essex junto of Massachusetts. But the majority of these leaders do not aim at separation. In this they adhere to the known principle of general Hamilton,—never, under any views, to break the union. Anglomania, monarchy, and separation, then, are the principles of the Essex federalists; Anglomania and monarchy, those of the Hamiltonians; and Anglomania alone, that of the portion among the people who call themselves federalists."—Vol. iv. p. 188.

and this he did not esteem possible, unless some effectual provision could be made against the impressment of American seamen. This, however, was demanded of the British admiral by way of preliminary; and herein appeared the unfairness of Mr. Madison, who asked every concession to be made first, whereby it did not appear that any thing would be left to treat about subsequently.

In November, congress met; and the president addressed it by message, in which he frankly stated the defeats experienced on the Canadian position, and complained much of the employment of the Indians by the British, thus bringing the horrors of savage warfare upon the land. He also complained of the conduct of Massachusetts and Connecticut in refusing their contingent of militia. The victories of American ships were cited with just pride; and congress was begged to extend somewhat their allowance to the army. So sparing had this been, that neither soldiers could be recruited nor general officers appointed, nor was there such a thing as a military staff.

However considerable was the opposition to Mr. Madison's policy and administration in the eastern states, still the southerns, increased by the number of the newly created states in the western territory, were enabled to out-vote their rivals on the grand presidential question. Mr. Madison was, without difficulty, re-elected to his second term of office; whilst Mr. Gerry became vice-president in the room of Clinton. The same preponderance he was enabled to exercise in congress; where a majority passed resolutions approving of the president's refusal to make peace, except upon the removal of the possibility of the English impressing or searching for American seamen. The British government, on its side, placed the principal ports and rivers of America at once in a state of blockade. In order, however, to favour such states as displayed aversion to the war, a system of licences was adopted, in order to enable ships from their ports to enjoy a trade

with the West Indies. The president was indignant at this tenderness shown by foreign for domestic foes, and he denounced it with great heat to the legislature.

Winter had, in the mean time, brought no respite to war, even in those inclement countries. In January, 1813, the Americans, under general Winchester, marched to the recapture of Detroit. They were anticipated by colonel Procter, the British officer commanding in the conquered province; who, with a body of regular troops and Indians, completely defeated the Americans, took their leader and the greater number prisoners. Of these, American writers complain, that a great number fell sacrifices to the cruelty of the savage Indians. The fault of the defeat lay evidently with the American commander, Harrison, who, with a considerable force, had not provided for the safety of his detachment. Harrison himself was soon after besieged by the British in a fort which he had erected. Disaster in this frontier, however, always brought the American side a reinforcement of spirited volunteers; and the Kentucky men marched to take their revenge upon colonel Procter, and, in their first onset, dispossessed him of position and batteries. But the British returned to the charge, and, in their turn, routed the Americans finally.

The events of the war had by this time taught the Americans to reverse an opinion previously formed. They knew themselves far superior in force to the British in Canada, where the Indians alone restored proportion to the respective numbers. On land, therefore, they had reckoned to be victors; whilst at sea their numerical inferiority seemed to promise defeat: events had turned out directly contrary to this; their soldiers had been beaten shamefully, their sailors mostly victorious. The advantage was, therefore, seen, of converting, as far as it was possible, the military operations on the side of Canada into naval ones. The nature of the position, passing through the great lakes,—seas in depth and extent,—rendered this possible.

Their first endeavours were directed to the fitting

out of a squadron upon Lake Ontario, which should master its waters, and be able to convey to the several points upon it, possessed by the British, such force as would be irresistible. Sackett's Harbour was the name of the chief American port upon the lake. Here a fleet was fitted out with great activity and zeal, and, by the end of April, was ready to transport a small army. Upwards of 2000 men embarked, commanded by the American general Pike. These were wafted to the vicinity of York, the capital of Upper Canada, where the British had only a garrison of 600 strong. This small force offered every possible resistance. During the combat, general Pike was slain; but his troops were too numerous for the enemy, and the British were obliged to surrender York. Other expeditions were undertaken by the Americans upon different points, always with success, unless when, not content with getting possession of the place or fort attacked, they thought fit to pursue the retreating British. On one of these occasions, the Americans had two of their generals captured. Upon another, a detachment of 800 men, commanded by colonel Boerstler, was surrounded and made prisoners.

The British, in the mean time, exerted themselves to rival their enemy upon the lakes. An attack, gallantly made, on Sackett's Harbour was repulsed; but, in a little time, sir James Yeo was enabled to take the command of a flotilla, equal or superior to the Americans, which turned the advantage upon Lake Ontario against them. On Lake Champlain, also, the British had taken the start of their foes, and destroyed the American establishment of Plattsburg, in revenge for the affair of York, which had been twice captured and plundered.

It was upon Lake Erie, however, that the fiercest struggle took place; and it ended completely in favour of the Americans. The vessels equipped on both sides were mostly from fifty to sixty guns. The advantage of force was on the side of Perry, the American com-

modore, who had nine of these vessels. Barclay, his antagonist, numbered six; these six, however, bearing more cannon than an equal number of their antagonists. The naval battle fought by these squadrons for the mastery of Lake Erie, was the most important which had yet occurred in the war. Perry, rushing headlong with his vessel into action, was at first disabled, and obliged to shift his flag; but, when all his force came up, the Canadian squadron was beaten in the fight, most of the officers killed, the ships disabled and obliged to surrender.

This was a source of great exultation to the Americans, whom it compensated for all previous losses. Nor were its consequences less important; as the British forces were compelled to abandon the advantages and position which they had previously won. Detroit, the first conquest of the war, was now given up; and the retreat was not conducted with that skill and spirit which had marked previous operations. The Americans, under general Harrison, came up with sir George Prevost near the Moravian villages on the Thames, and defeated him, with signal loss on the part of the British. Amongst the slain, was the famous Indian chief Tecumseh, brother of the Wabash prophet; by which loss, as well as by the reverses of the war, these savage allies were much disheartened.

The Americans, rendered sanguine by success, now meditated nothing short of the conquest of Montreal. They prepared three different armies, whose junction was to execute this task; and each were of numbers hitherto unparalleled in the war. There were upwards of 20,000 regular troops, besides nearly half that quantity of militia. A considerable portion of these was to descend the St. Lawrence; whilst another division, under general Hampton, was to cross the frontier, and, driving back the British, join the expedition down the river at St. Regis. But to offensive operations by land, the Americans were not yet equal. General Wilkinson, with 10,000 men, proceeded from Lake Ontario down the

St. Lawrence, coasting his own side of the river. Sir George Prevost, at the head of the Canadian militia principally, watched and impeded his movements. But those under Hampton were first arrested. Although at the head of 7000 men, the progress of that general was arrested by a body of Canadian militia, which withstood the repeated attacks of the American division, and at length forced it to retreat. General Wilkinson, being thus deprived of the expected co-operation, and having himself been severely handled in an encounter near Chrystler's Point, thought fit to retreat, and abandon altogether the enterprise against Montreal. Its failure created great disappointment both to the nation and to the president. The efforts of government had been great, and the hopes proportionate. General Hampton was deprived of his command, though much of the fault was attributed to general Armstrong, the secretary of war.

In the south-west a furious war was, at the same time, carried on between the Creek Indians and the Americans. The savages, never completely pacified or reconciled to the Americans, had been roused by a visit from Tecumseh; who, in the name of the great prophet, told them to arise and whet their tomahawks. On the last day of August, they surprised a fort on the Georgian frontier, and massacred all within, women and children not excepted. General Jackson, of Tennessee, undertook to take vengeance for this sanguinary outrage; and marched with a large body of militia into the wilds tenanted by the Creeks. These were not slow to meet their enemies; and a series of bloody encounters ensued, in all of which, the Indians, though outnumbered, fought with their native desperation, and perished to a man. It was more like a tiger hunt than war. The want of provisions, and the difficulty of finding the Indians, were the only circumstances which baffled the whites; whose numbers came and went, as the weary abandoned them, or fresh volunteers recruited their force. Jackson earned his renown by the martial spirit he displayed in

these wars. The Indians had learned the art of entrenching themselves to advantage. Though beaten at Tallapoosa, they had caused the whites great loss. They made another stand at Tohopeka; where a thousand chiefs withstood triple their force, and perished valiantly. At last, when the bravest and best of them had been carried off, they submitted. One of the remaining chiefs addressed Jackson: — "Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice. Their bows are at Emuchfaw and Tohopeka. While a chance remained, I asked not for peace: but I now ask it for my nation and myself."

At sea, the Americans this year had not so much cause for triumph, although their newly obtained character for equality with British skill and courage was well supported. In the month of February, the United States sloop Hornet, commanded by captain Laurence, was attacked by the Peacock, of about equal force. After twenty minutes' combat, the British crew were not only defeated, but their vessel sinking. There was not even time for saving the vanquished; the sloop going down with twelve persons, of whom were three American sailors, engaged in rescuing their foes.

For this feat, captain Laurence, on his return to Boston, was promoted to the command of the frigate Chesapeake, of old famous. A British frigate, the Shannon, was soon off the harbour: its commander, captain Broke, was most desirous of wiping off some of the recent stains on the navy of his country; and, with a view to effect this, he paid that severe attention to discipline and exercise which long superiority had taught the English to neglect. The Shannon stood in to Boston light-house, to challenge the Chesapeake. Captain Laurence, with a finer vessel and a larger complement of men, but, it is said, not as yet well trained, accepted the defiance, and sailed out to meet the foe. The Chesapeake and Shannon joined; when, after fifteen minutes' firing, the British boarded, and carried the American ship. The gallant Laurence, mor-

tally wounded, refused to allow the colours to be struck, and died, protesting against the ship's being given up. There needs no stronger proof of the equal valour of two brave nations, sprung from a common stock, than these alternate triumphs of that side which happened to be superior in discipline.

A less noble species of warfare was carried on along the coasts of the sea and the great gulphs, by frequent landings from British vessels, to molest and plunder the inhabitants and ravage the country. Sometimes an unoffending village was cannonaded. These exploits, intended to make the war unpopular in America, had the contrary effect. The British, in judging what their own feelings would be if similarly injured, might have adopted other measures of hostility towards an enemy of which so large a minority was averse to the war.

Congress still supported the policy of Mr. Madison, however onerous and unusual the expense. The summer session was almost exclusively consumed in voting additional taxes; which, now that commerce was paralysed, were necessarily, some of them, internal. Duties were levied upon wine, spirits, sugar, salt; and a loan of upwards of seven millions of dollars was authorised. A still further demand of supply was made in January, 1814: a loan, treble the former amount, was raised, besides other modes having been devised of procuring funds. During the course of the year, the emperor of Russia had offered his mediation between England and America. This latter country, always anxious to preserve amity with Russia, sent commissioners immediately to St. Petersburgh. Great Britain declined the mediation; but professed herself willing to appoint on her side negotiators to treat, either in London, or in some neutral port. Gottenberg was selected for this purpose.

At both extremities of the Lake Ontario, the war was continued, by desultory expeditions of either army, during the commencement of 1814. The British stormed and took Fort Niagara, and afterwards that of Oswego. In

July, an encounter took place at Chippewa, between an American invading force under general Brown, and the British and Canadians under general Riall. The latter attacked, but were repulsed, and, after a severe loss, were obliged to retreat. This gave confidence to the Americans. General Drummond soon after joined the Canadian army with reinforcements, and took the command. This rendering the contending forces more nearly equal, both parties marched to renew the contest. The battle took place near the celebrated falls of Niagara; the Americans commencing the attack about the hour of sunset. It lasted till late in the night; the work of slaughter being carried on by the light of the moon. Though bravely charging, the Americans could make no impression on the British; while they themselves suffered dreadfully from the English guns, which played from an eminence in the centre of the field. Their efforts were accordingly directed against this battery; and colonel Miller led the American troops several times to its assault, gaining and losing possession alternately of the disputed point: he even brought up American cannon to support the attack, which presented the novel appearance of gun charging gun. On one occasion, cannons were actually exchanged in the confusion. As the night advanced, the conflict ceased, both parties claiming the victory. The Americans assert that they retained possession of the field. But, as they certainly retreated, immediately shut themselves up, and were besieged in Fort Erie, their claim of having been victotorious seems questionable. General Riall, severely wounded, was made prisoner. The American generals Brown and Scott were also, from wounds, obliged to quit the field.

The siege of Fort Erie was carried on for more than month, marked by a daring attempt at taking it by storm on the part of the British, and an equally gallant sortie made by the Americans. Both attempts were repulsed. But, in the end, a large American force marching to the relief of the fort, the besiegers drew off.

whilst the besieged evacuated it; and the Americans finally retreated to their own side of the Niagara; the war in this quarter having given birth to many gallant achievements, but no conquest.

Eastward of the great lakes, the governor-general of Canada resolved on an expedition, which, if it succeeded, would counterbalance the equal issue of operations on the Niagara. With a flotilla on Lake Champlain, and an army along its brink, he advanced to the attack of Plattsburgh. The fortune of the enterprise was decided in a naval engagement on the lake, between commodore M'Donogh and captain Downie. The latter was slain early in the fight, and his vessel disabled, so that the British flotilla was completely defeated and taken by the enemy. Sir George Prevost was obliged, accordingly, to retreat; having proved himself here, as in most instances where he personally commanded, to have been singularly unfortunate.

As the war in Europe was now over, the British minister seemed determined to make the Americans, especially the more inveterate enemies of the southern provinces, feel more fully, than they had yet done, the inconvenience of having provoked the hostility of England. A squadron under sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board an army under general Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake in the month of August. From the open gulph it turned its course up the Patuxent, apparently in search of the American flotilla, which, under commodore Barney, had taken shelter there. As the ships of war could not follow the flotilla up the river, the army was disembarked at St. Benedict's, to pursue it by land. Its force was estimated at 4500. At first no resistance was offered; for it appears that the American secretary of war could not bring himself to credit any serious intention of the English to land.* General

* "The force designated by the president was the double of what was necessary; but failed, as is the general opinion, through the insubordination of Armstrong (who could never believe the attack intended until it was actually made), and the sluggishness of Winder before the occasion, and his indecision during it."—*Jefferson's Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 256.

Ross, therefore, reached Marlborough, where the flotilla was destroyed, to prevent its falling into his power. But here the ultimate object of the disembarkation became evident, when the British columns, instead of returning, continued their march in the direction of Washington.

The American commander, Winder, resolved, in consequence, to make a stand against the invaders; and, for this purpose, he chose a strong position at Bladensburg, covered by a branch of the Potomac. His force was much greater than that of the British, with whom, however, being the veterans of the peninsula, the raw militia of Virginia and Maryland could scarcely be expected to cope The chief approach to Bladensburg lay over a bridge, which was, of course, commanded by the American artillery, and served by the seamen of the flotilla. These did their duty skilfully and bravely. The first company of the British that advanced upon the bridge (for general Ross did not tarry for a ford) was swept away; and it was not until the attacking army had crossed in force that the artillery could be mastered. The first regiments that crossed were rash in pushing the Americans, who retired; they were accordingly severely handled, and repulsed at first. But after three hours' fighting Bladensburg was abandoned by its defenders, who dispersed among the woods. The battle, though not creditable to regular troops, did honour to raw militia; and the British were not victorious without loss. The victors soon after entered Washington. Their general wished to lay the city under contribution; but his proposal not being hearkened to, and even his flag of truce fired on, orders were given to destroy all the public buildings. This barbarous order, which no plea can excuse, and which certainly was as impolitic for the future as unprofitable for the present, was executed with rigour: and even some private dwellings suffered; that of an obnoxious printer amongst others. The docks, the shipping, the magazines, were, of course, fired: these were lawful ob-

jects of devastation. But the dooming of the senate-house, the president's palace, the library, to the same fate, was a piece of Vandalism that covered the expedition with disgrace.

The work of destruction achieved, the British retreated, without loss of time, to their ships, and, re-embarking, sailed to menace and to ravage other points. Alexandria was captured, but ransomed all save its stores and shipping. Baltimore was the next town devoted by the British to their vengeance. It was the most obnoxious and anti-federal, as well as important; and was, consequently, considered a proper object of attack. General Ross landed about fifteen miles from the city, at the head of about 5000 men, on the 12th of September. The disaster of Washington, however, had inspired more strenuous measures of defence; and the Americans on this point were far better prepared. They occupied a strong position in advance of Baltimore. In the first skirmish that occurred, the British commander was shot by a rifleman; which damped the hopes, as well as deranged the projects, of the expedition. The English, however, marched to the attack, and routed the Americans, whose militia did not behave valiantly. However, there was still a stronger position behind, capable of a better defence. The co-operation of the fleet had been reckoned on to facilitate the carrying of this, which was, in fact, the heights above Baltimore. Admiral Cochrane, however, had found this impracticable from the shallowness of the harbour, as well as from the vessels sunk at its mouth. Those in command of the expedition accordingly abandoned its further prosecution; the army retreated, and again embarked. After some further cruises and menaces in the Chesapeake, the English fleet abandoned it for a more remote enterprise.

On the distant north-eastern frontier of the United States, that which adjoined Canada, the English this year effected a conquest. They sent an expedition up the Penobscot river, which, without difficulty, mastered

all the strong-holds upon its course; a frigate, called the John Adams, having made most resistance, and brought most glory in capturing. Half the state of Maine was obliged to capitulate; and sir John Sherbrooke took possession of it in the name of George III. Some islands in Passanaquoddy bay had also been acquired in a similar manner.

The commissioners of both nations had, in the mean time, met, not, as had been first arranged, at Gottenberg, but at Ghent. The triumph of the British over Bonaparte had naturally increased the arrogance of their tone, whilst the ravaging expeditions on the American coast, contrasted with the state of the war in Canada, confirmed the Americans in their proud determination not to yield. The English demanded that no further acquisition of territory should be made at the expense of the Indians. To this and other demands the American commissioners objected; and the first attempts at an accommodation altogether failed.

In the mean time the exasperation of the federalists (as they were still called, however anti-federal was their present object) — more properly of the party averse to war in the New England states — grew to a height that menaced a revolution in those parts. Mr. Strong, the governor of Massachusetts, was at the head of this party; and his addresses to the legislature of his state vied with those of the president to congress in strength and bitterness, but with sentiments directly opposite. "The lovers of peace," said he, "are accused of being under British influence. Those of war are as much instigated by French influence." Distress was at the bottom of this discontent; for Massachusetts had not only traded in British manufactures, but, from the long credit given by the merchants of that country, literally traded upon the capital of the latter. Of these great advantages war deprived them. To alleviate this distress somewhat, the rigour of the laws prohibiting both imports and exports was relaxed; and as the enemy's fleet had hitherto confined their blockade to the south-

ern ports, it was hoped that Boston and New York might enjoy a circuitous or indirect trade, which would reconcile them to the war. Great Britain, however, about this time, freed from the necessity of keeping her cruisers around the shores of Europe, despatched them to America, and enforced her blockade all along the coast, in order to protect her trade more effectually from the privateers of her foe.

The New Englanders not only felt this, but they saw Britain so victorious in her European struggle, that it seemed madness to resist her. The destruction of Washington, the ravage of the banks of the Chesapeake, showed what was to be expected from a continuance of hostilities. Towards the close of the year they, consequently, attacked the government more virulently than ever, accusing it of first exciting the war gratuitously, persevering in it obstinately, yet taking none of the requisite measures for preserving the country from insult or conquest. To remedy this crying evil, by which one section of states were sacrificed to the interests of another, they proposed a convention of delegates from the different sections of the union to be summoned to meet at Hartford, in order to take into consideration the changes to be made in the constitution. This was the most serious schism that had as yet menaced the integrity of the federal union. The Hartford convention met, though attended merely by the delegates of the anti-war, or north-eastern states. Their discussions were kept secret,—a fortunate circumstance,—and they separated for the time, after merely venting their grievances in a public address.

This dangerous spirit, as well as the distresses of the government, becoming most formidable in a financial point of view, were arrested by the tidings, that peace at length had been signed at Ghent, in December. These tidings, however, did not arrive until the army, victorious at Washington, had received a check, which terminated the war in a manner glorious to the nation, and much to the support of the political party in power.

General Jackson, after having reduced the Indians of the south, kept anxious watch over the province intrusted to him. In August, a small British force had landed at Pensacola, the capital of Florida. This served but to put the Americans on the alert, and to enable their commander to organise means of defence. He marched to Pensacola, and expelled the British. It was soon after whispered that an expedition was preparing against New Orleans. This city was at once so important and so vulnerable, that any collection of forces in the West Indies might give rise to the suspicion that it was menaced. It was a late acquisition; and had been proved, in Burr's business, to be full of disaffection. The ultimate success of any attempt against New Orleans necessarily depended on its secrecy, since a timely concentration of force, together with the fortifications that the swampy nature of the country rendered it easy to form and defend, might defy whatever little army Britain should think fit to send against the place. The Americans, however, had full warning of their foe's coming, and thus were enabled to make sure of victory.

Before Christmas, 1814, an English fleet and army entered Lake Borgne, which is to the eastward of New Orleans. The commanders hoped to run up to its extremity, land their force, and take possession of the city by a *coup de main*. They found a flotilla upon the lake, ready to dispute it. The British, not disheartened at finding their enemies prepared, attacked the flotilla in boats, and captured it; but not without an obstinate struggle. Quitting the large vessels, the English embarked in flat boats, and rowed up to the extremity of the lake; where division after division disembarked in a reedy swamp some miles from the city. Here all was panic among the citizens, notwithstanding the preparations of the general. They talked of how vain it would be to resist the English; and the legislature of the province discussed already the terms of surrender. Jackson, like another Cromwell, but with

warrantable rudeness, turned them forth, and locked up the hall of sitting, observing that the sound of English musketry had rendered them unfit to govern. He declared martial law to be in force, and then prepared for the immediate reception of the invader. Trained to Indian warfare, Jackson possessed all the indomitable tenacity, as well as the ingenuity of artifice and manœuvre, requisite for, and inspired by, such service.

The British, indeed, had no sooner landed, than they experienced the active enemy they had now to deal with. When night had set upon their first encampment, a vessel came gliding on the lake by their side, and in a little time opened a destructive fire of grape-shot upon them. Sounds of musketry, too, came in front. The Americans were attempting a night attack. A confused engagement took place in the midst of darkness, and without the possibility of order and manœuvre. It terminated in the repulse of the Americans, but not without accession to their own courage, as well as a severe loss to the British.

Jackson now took his stand some three or four miles in front of New Orleans, in a position which he had strongly intrenched, with a canal in his front, all flanked by the fire of shipping from the river, as well as by batteries on its opposite bank. The English marched upon it, expecting to carry it, as they had done at Bladensburg and before Baltimore; but, stopped by the canal, and exposed to a tremendous and most judiciously directed fire, their ranks were thinned and disordered, their artillery dismounted, and the army compelled to retreat. They abandoned the project of carrying the position by assault, but had recourse to throwing up a rival line of intrenchments, and mounting them with cannon. One day's engagement followed exclusively between the batteries of both armies; but the English were silenced by the American fire.

There remained but to try once more the fortune of an assault; but, to render the chance of this successful,

sir Edward Pakenham, the English commander, proposed to dislodge the Americans from the battery beyond the river, which most galled him. For this purpose it was necessary to cut a canal across the neck of land occupied by the army, in order to allow boats to pass from the lake to the river. This was effected with herculean labour by the soldiers. When it was complete, Pakenham gave orders for the boats to pass the river at midnight, in order that the batteries on the other side might be stormed and carried before daylight, and prepared to be turned upon the enemy at the moment of the attack in front. The canal, however, had partly fallen in: the boats did not arrive: an inefficient party did cross the river, but too late. Instead of being duly cognisant of these misadventures, and deferring his attack, general Pakenham gave his orders; and it was too late to recall them, when it was known that the batteries could not be carried. With the desperation of a brave soldier, rather than with the cool prudence of a leader, he pushed on to the now hopeless attack; which some officers, observing the unequal risk, had not the hardihood to follow up, and retired. No fascines nor ladders were at hand. Pakenham, still in search of death rather than victory, led on his men, who were received with a murderous fire from the American intrenchment. Many penetrated into it, but it was only to perish. The general himself received a mortal wound; the two next in command also fell; and the British were obliged, after the loss of 2000 men, to make another and a final retreat.

The capture of the President, an American frigate, by the Endymion, which took place about the same time, off New York, after a sharp contest, was no counterpoise to this disaster; nor yet the taking of Fort Mobile by the army that had retreated from New Orleans.

The news of peace came to America amidst the rejoicings for the victory of New Orleans. It was doubly welcome, because so gloriously terminated. But the

forbearance, indeed the magnanimity, of Great Britain never appeared greater. She made no demands; and when the Americans desisted from theirs, — which, indeed, the cessation of war left no room for, since impressment and the right of search were applicable merely to war, — there seemed scarcely a stipulation necessary. All that England insisted on was the abolition of the slave trade. The settlement of the boundary line on the side of Canada was left to commissioners of both nations. On the 17th of February, 1815, the president and senate ratified the treaty of Ghent; and North America breathed, with Europe, free from the horrors of war.

CHAP. XVI.

PRESIDENCIES OF MONROE AND JACKSON. — CONCLUSION.

It may appear strange, yet it certainly is not unjust, to compare the democratic party of America to the tories of England. Their principles were, indeed, diametrically opposed, but those principles were the prevailing features of the government of each, carried to their extreme limits. The tories exaggerated the monarchic sentiment, the democrats the republican. Each made their opinions the basis of their power; or, rather awoke the ever ready antipathy of the people towards a rival nation, and dignified this rancorous feeling by high sounding and patriotic names. The war, undertaken by both, and carried on with equal virulence, was founded in injustice and impolicy, and excited more by party and personal views than by any great patriotic feeling. But whatever were the blunders and the defects, success came to throw a robe of triumph over all; hallowing the cause that had come off so gloriously, and enthroning in

the seat of power those who had been its fortunate leaders and supporters.

Tories and democrats were, in fact, both on the verge of ruin, when victory and peace came to bear them up. The Hartford convention menaced the union with dissolution, the federalists were gaining ground, and would have overcome their foes. Peace, alone, could scarcely have prevented them. But the victory of New Orleans raised the presidency and policy of Mr. Madison to a pitch of glory that the people could not resist; and the federalists were silenced.

In the good humour of the moment, the ruling party seems also to have lost much of its anti-British rancour. A commercial treaty was concluded upon fair terms between the countries. The Americans were permitted by England to trade with the East and the West Indies; on the condition, however, of transferring the produce directly to their own ports. For some time, the old illiberal policy towards England was allowed to lie dormant. A state of hostility, however, gives to a numerous class of persons certain occupations and interests necessarily arising out of, and depending on war. Such persons, although they dared not abet such a proposal as eternal war, still wished for a state, as far as commerce and manufactures were concerned, tantamount to it. Whilst shut out from England, the Americans had begun to fabricate divers articles of necessity for themselves; of course, at a dearer rate, and with less skill, than those excluded. Peace brought back the cheap and the good commodity from England. The American could not stand the competition; and exclaimed against the want of patriotism in sacrificing him to foreigners. The infant manufactures of the country, argued the manufacturers, ought to be supported. Petitions and addresses to this effect soon crowded the table of congress; and as the consumer was not so early alive to his interests as the manufacturer, the complaint of the former made impression and won favour by its plausibility. Mr. Madison, himself, jealous of the decline of manu-

factures, and still more of shipping, owing to the rivalry of the British, felt his old anti-Anglican prejudices revive; and his messages to congress soon, though gradually, came to recommend prohibitory measures and conservative duties.

In February, 1817, this gentleman terminated his eight years' tenure of the first office in the state. Mr. Monroe, secretary of state, was chosen president, to succeed him. The change made no perceivable difference in the policy of government. Its attention was, at this time, chiefly called to the south. The acquisition of Louisiana had not satisfied American statesmen.* The union was not considered complete till the Floridas were incorporated. Spain, against whom almost all her trans-atlantic possessions were in full revolt, kept but a feeble hold of the countries. The government of the United States endeavoured to obtain them in exchange for pecuniary claims; and not to alarm the pride of Spain, it preserved a strict neutrality between the mother country and her revolted colonies. Yet theirs was a cause that must have come home to every American heart, and the democratic administration were not a little censured by their followers for their obsequiousness to the despotic sovereign of Spain. Their apparent apathy was, indeed, contrasted with the sympathy they had affected for France, when, as a republican state, she armed against (we should say, provoked) the hostility of England. Spain, notwithstanding this obsequiousness, hesitated to render up what remained to her of Florida. Some adventurers, from the insurgent colonies, in the mean time took possession of Amelia island off their western coast, and seemed determined to convert it into a strong-hold for buccaneering, for carrying on a commerce in slaves, and for tampering with

* "I candidly confess," writes Jefferson to president Monroe in 1823, "that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. The control which, with Florida point, this island would give us over the gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being."

the Indians. The American government drove out the occupants, and destroyed their establishment.

In the following year, 1818, another cause or pretext was afforded for invading and taking possession of the main land of Florida. The Seminole Indians, within the Spanish territory, were in the habit of making incursions upon the neighbouring American states; and, latterly, they had grown bolder, being incited by fugitive Indians from other tribes, as well as by certain European agents, as was asserted. General Jackson, commanding the forces of the south, was ordered to reduce these Indians. He was told, indeed, not to enter Florida, except in pursuit of an enemy; but as Florida was the only region where this enemy was to be reached, the provision was merely a pretext, provided against the expected complaints of Spain. The president in his message laid it down as a rule, that "where the authority of Spain ceases to exist, there the United States have a right to pursue their enemy, on a principle of self-defence;" and as the authority of the Spaniards did not prevail beyond the limits of the two garrisons which they occupied, Pensacola and St. Augustin, general Jackson was authorised to make a formidable invasion into the coveted region. That commander, indeed, determined to render it formidable: he raised an army of volunteers, in addition to the regular force, and marched into Florida. In the places of which he took possession he found two unfortunate Englishmen, — Arbuthnot and Ambrister, — whom he accused of being there to provoke the Indians to war. He caused them to be tried by a court-martial, composed of his own volunteer officers: they were, of course, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged. To crown these gross outrages against humanity and law, general Jackson, feigning or finding that the Spanish garrisons gave aid and protection to the Indians, (not unlikely, seeing the invasion of the Americans,) marched to Pensacola, the capital, overcame and expelled the Spanish authorities, and made a conquest of the country

This conduct not only excited the strongest animadversion in Europe, but called forth the greatest reprobation in congress itself. A committee, appointed to examine the documents relative to the Seminole war, drew up a report strongly inculpating Jackson; declaring that he had not only disregarded the orders of the war department, but had committed gross breaches of the constitution and the laws. It exclaims against the monstrous phenomenon of a military officer, in these early days of the republic, taking it upon himself to raise a volunteer army of 2500 men, with 230 officers, of whom court-martials were formed to decide upon life and death. The victims condemned might have put themselves out of the pale of the law; but general Jackson might almost as well have caused a court-martial of his volunteers to judge an American citizen who might happen to be an officer of militia. Not only were these summary trials and executions criminal, but the entering Pensacola was contrary to his orders, and highly censurable. A few years previous to this, a bill of indemnity had been necessary to free Jackson from the consequence of his anti-constitutional act in superseding the civil authorities of New Orleans. Necessity and success were his excuses; but a repetition of such conduct, and such a precedent, very naturally alarmed the representatives of a free country. Notwithstanding the justice of this accusation, Jackson was defended by the government party. Debate ran high, and divisions upon the several questions were nearly equal. The democrats, however, succeeded in carrying the exculpation of Jackson. Gratitude alone must have induced them to this, since his heroism had been their salvation.

Spain was in no condition to dispute the claims or the conduct of the United States. Her minister in the following year even signed a treaty, in which the cession of the Floridas was stipulated. But king Ferdinand refused to ratify it, sending an envoy to make just complaints on different points, principally with re-

spect to encroachments upon the Mexican province of Texas. Ere the period of Mr. Monroe's presidency expired, however, he had the satisfaction of finally negotiating the acquisition of the Floridas, on which he congratulated the congress, in 1821. This diplomatic difficulty removed, the independence of the South American republics was recognised by their elder sister of the north, in the ensuing year.

While thus completing itself in the south, the territory of the United States was at the same time extending itself rapidly westward, to and beyond the Mississippi. The Illinois had just been added; and the Missouri demanded also to become a state of the union. This demand started one of those fierce subjects of contention, which periodically came to agitate North America, and to rekindle the slumbering embers of party faction. It was objected to the Missouri, that it refused to adopt the clause for the prohibition of the growth of slavery; and upon this ground its demand of being admitted as one of the confederation was opposed and denied. There was much humane and christian principle at the bottom of this refusal, but there was also a portion of party motive. The north-eastern states, shorn of their original influence in the union, lost more and more of this, as the number of western states increased. They were opposed to this increase, and looked with jealousy on each instance of augmentation. Having themselves no need of slaves, being opposed in political principle to the southern who had, the New Englanders, on these grounds, as well as from religious feeling, were strenuous advocates for the abolition of slavery; and all these reasons now united to make them oppose the Missouri. The democrats of the south, on the other hand, though not daring to uphold the advantages of slavery, were still not wanting in excuses and pleas of expediency. Slavery was an evil, but could it be dispensed with, or altogether got rid of? "We have the wolf by the ears," said Jefferson, "and we can neither hold him, nor safely

let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other." The importation of slaves from Africa had, indeed, been long since prohibited, and the traffic had been declared piracy. But there existed still a manufacture of slaves within the states themselves, and their production as an article of commerce proved one great source of prosperity to the newly settled western provinces. The elder members of the federation had, for each of themselves, put a stop to this, by forbidding the transference of slaves from one to another. But Missouri resisted; and threatened, in 1819, to constitute itself a sovereign and independent state, if not admitted to the union without the onerous condition.

This great question soon became, as will always be the case, the cause of territorial as well as party division. It drew a dangerous line betwixt free and slave-holding states, and menaced the integrity of the union more than had done federalism and anti-federalism, war, or peace faction.* It even awakened these to a great degree, since the anti-slavery zeal was considered to proceed from England, and consequently to make part of the ever to be eschewed maxims of the mother country. The interference, too, of congress, in imposing certain regulations upon the states was rank federalism, and as such, was denounced by the veteran Jefferson.† The state of Missouri, after most animated debates, was finally admitted to the union upon a kind of compromise, in which, indeed, the anti-slavery party were obliged to abandon the philanthropic and honourable condition upon which they had at first insisted.

But even this sacrifice of principle, this legal sanction of what must be considered the greatest blemish and

* "I have been amongst the sanguine in believing that our union would be of long duration, I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance; and the direct consequence of this question, not by the line which has been so confidently counted on; the laws of nature control this; but by the Potomac, Ohio, and Missouri, or, more probably, the Mississippi upwards to our northern boundary. My only comfort and confidence is, that I shall not live to see this," &c.—*Jefferson's Letters*, 1820.

† Vol. iv. p. 347.

the most menacing source of future evil to a free country, had not the effect of healing up the wound and removing the schism occasioned by the Missouri question. The north and the south, then arrayed against each other, still remained mutually jealous, and the most trifling question was sufficient to raise heats, threatening not only separations but civil war. Thus it was that in 1825, the state of Georgia, seeking to acquire some territory at the expense of the Indians, was controlled by the congress, and forbidden to accomplish its aim by other than amicable means. The state took fire at what it considered to be oppression, referring the cause more immediately to the adverse influence of the New Englanders. Its house of representatives passed a resolution almost disclaiming obedience to the federal government. "The hour is come," their vote declared, "or it is rapidly approaching, when the states from Virginia to Georgia, from Missouri to Louisiana, must confederate, and as one man say to the union, 'We will no longer submit our constitutional rights to bad men in congress, or on judicial benches. The powers necessary to the protection of the confederated states from enemies without and enemies within, alone were confided to the united government; all others were retained to the several states separate and sovereign. The states of the south will convey their products to the markets of the world. The world will open wide its arms to receive them. Let our northern brethren, then, if there is no peace in union, if the compact has become too heavy to be longer borne, in the names of all the mercies, find peace among themselves. Let them continue to rejoice in their self-righteousness, let them bask in their own meridian, while they depict the south as a hideous reverse. As Athens, as Sparta, as Rome was, we will be; they held slaves, we hold them. In the simplicity of the patriarchal government we would still remain master and servant, under our own vine and our own fig-tree, and confide for safety upon Him who, of old time, looked down

upon this state of things without wrath.'" Here, although it was but a federal or anti-federal principle which caused the division, the Georgians adduce the holding or nonholding of slaves as the true difference between the parties.

The Missouri question had scarcely subsided, when another subject of contention arose, similarly calculated to create a division. This was the tariff. Ere this, however, became the absorbing topic of debate, a presidental change took place. In the month of March, 1825, the period of Mr. Monroe's tenure of the chief office expired. He completed what Jefferson designates "the twenty-four years' reign of republican presidents." The period had been sufficient to establish the republican system, such as Jefferson understood it, on foundations that could not be shaken. Federalism, or the principle for which that name once stood, was crushed utterly, and now had ceased to exist even in name. There was no longer to be found a man, capable of supporting with Hamilton the necessity of monarchic grades in society, of government influence on a large scale to be obtained by peace, of a debt, in order to have a large body of national creditors attached to the preservation of order and existing establishments. By the removal of the things themselves, the republican presidents had shown not only the economy and advantage accruing from their absence, but had shown this to be attended by none of the anarchy or disorganisation, argued to be their natural consequences. All America had, in fact, become republican, in Jefferson's sense of the term. The words federal and anti-federal had lost their meaning.

Party differences in America had, in fact, ceased to be founded on principle; and as such differences must always exist, they came to base themselves upon personal attachments and antipathies, as well as upon territorial divisions. This became evident in the contested election for the presidency. The candidates were four in number: viz. John Quincy Adams, secre-

tary of state, son of John Adams, the former president; general Jackson; Mr. Crawford, secretary of the treasury; and Mr. Clay, president of the house of representatives. Adams was supported by the New England states; Jackson, by the Georgians and southerns. Crawford was the Virginians' candidate, while Clay had the support of the west. Although the chief struggle was between Adams and Jackson, yet the other candidate occasioned such a distraction of votes, that no one had the requisite majority; and, as in the contest between Burr and Jefferson, the election rested with the house of representatives. By their vote John Quincy Adams was declared president; and the result gave no little dissatisfaction, as Jackson counted more voices in the popular election. There were other than territorial interests, or merely personal attachments, engaged in this conflict betwixt the rivals. Jackson might be considered the choice of the lower classes, Adams of the more wealthy and refined. The latter has ever displayed talents and taste worthy of this support. His inaugural address was a master-piece in dignity and style.*

"Since the period of our independence," said the new president, "a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve; a territory bounded by the Mississippi has been extended from sea to sea; and states have been admitted to the union in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation; treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished as effectually as under any other government on the globe; and at a cost little exceeding, in a whole generation, the expenditure of other nations in a single year."

Alluding to the great parties of federal, and anti-federal, into which the country had once been divided, Mr. Adams solemnly pronounced their extinction; and

* At the moment of writing this, Mr. Adams's Report on the Bank has filled both Europe and America with admiration.

declared the country united and agreed on the fundamental principles of government.

"The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the government of the United States first came into operation under this constitution, excited a collision of sentiments and sympathies, which kindled all the passions, and imbittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war; and the union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five-and-twenty years; during which the policy of the union, in its relations with Europe, constituted the principal basis of our political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of our federal government. With the catastrophe, in which the wars of the French revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace of Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. From that time no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government, or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed, or been called forth, in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment, or legislative debate."—"If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy were a government competent to the wise and orderly management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, these doubts have been dispelled; if there have been projects of partial confederacies to be erected upon the ruins of the union, they have been scattered to the winds."

Notwithstanding this latter assertion, the president deemed it necessary to continue to recommend union, and to discard these party animosities founded "on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life;" which are far more dangerous and tending far more strongly and directly to separation, than the previous conflicts of theory or principle.

Notwithstanding the danger thus foreseen and guarded against by advices, a new measure had been started,

most calculated to create it. This was the bill passed in 1824, establishing a new tariff, by which, the duties on foreign — it may be said, on British manufactures — were considerably raised. It has been before stated, that from the time of the war, a party had arisen in America, who were clamorous for this measure. The necessity of protecting infant manufactures by restrictive laws and high duties on the importation of whatever might rival them, was advanced and argued by the early statesmen of the union, — by Hamilton himself. Nor were such opinions wonderful at that time, when political economy was so little understood as a science, and when its first errors rather than its subsequent truths had taken possession of the public mind. In others, this desire to make America suffice to her own wants, and be as independent of the luxuries as she was already of the power of Europe, was a matter more of feeling than of calculation. The short war of 1812 came to convert this theory into practice. America was obliged then to manufacture for herself, and establishments and interests were created, which must perish, if not protected in peace. These interests clamoured for protecting duties, and their clamour gained ground, precisely at the time when similar clamours were losing all influence in England, and restrictive laws gradually giving way to a commercial policy, at once more noble and more wise.

National rancour and jealousy came to give force to the arguments of the less liberal side. Since the peace, the hostile feeling towards England, in lieu of being abated, had increased. The high vaunts of our tory party, their influence, the tone, and at the same time the circulation of their publications, blindly vituperative of America, had worked up the feelings of even the statesmen of the United States to a pitch of irritation incompatible with coolness, fairness, or judgment. So much was this the case, that even when Great Britain held out an advantage or a concession to America, the latter saw in it only a trick, or a trap. Thus it

was, that when the doctrines of Mr. Huskisson respecting the removal of commercial restrictions prevailed, and when, in consequence, the British ports in the West Indies were thrown open to American ships on more advantageous conditions, the United States, instead of grasping at the boon, chicaned, held off, made greater demands, and placed themselves in the case of a chapman, who, ignorant of the value of what he would purchase, loses his bargain in over greediness.

On no question, indeed, more than on this of the colonial trade, was the constitution of the United States found to work with a greater disadvantage. The executive, too dependent on public opinion to brave it, deferred the question to the legislature altogether; and the members of this, blinded by animosity, seized the opportunity of the British concession to make inadmissible and arrogant demands. The consequence of these was merely to afford cause of diplomatic triumph to Mr. Canning, and to deprive the United States of the benefit of trade with the British West Indies for several years, and upon such untenable grounds of dispute, that they have been abandoned since by president Jackson, without cavil or protest.

The same feeling of international jealousy which led congress so grossly astray on this point, influenced it also considerably in pursuing a similar line of policy with respect to the tariff. But this was a question of far greater difficulty and danger, since upon it the manifest interests of different portions of the union were decidedly opposed. The southern states, the Carolinas, Georgia, Louisiana, were without manufactures themselves; Tennessee, Kentucky, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, were those whose capital had been vested in such establishments. The tariff was, in fact, a law to tax the former for the benefit of the latter. The measure accordingly gave rise to the same discontent and passionate language, the same protests against the authority of the federal government, and the same menaces of dissolving the union, which had risen up on the

Missouri and other questions. The only circumstance which abated the danger was that the territorial line of separation between the two interests was not precisely the same as former ones. The tariff did not altogether divide the country into north and south, east or west. Some of the New England states sympathised with Georgia; whilst some of the very southern regions, like Tennessee, were at variance with their neighbours.

The disputes concerning the tariff were interrupted by the renewal of the contest for the presidency, in which general Jackson was triumphant; Adams, like his father, having his tenure of the chief office in the state limited to four years. If, in the debates on the West India trade and other questions, the republican constitution of America appeared to disadvantage, never was the salutary force of public opinion more manifest than in the case of the new president. Jackson had been the rude soldier; ever ready to outstep the bounds of legality; fierce in his manners and declarations; breathing war and defiance. The fears that his election would prove the signal, not only of hostilities with foreign powers, but usurpation or violence at home, were general; yet the same popular breath that wafted Jackson to the presidency, impressed upon him at the same time so strong a sense of his duty, that metal in the furnace could not take a newer or softer temper than the new president. Not only in his inaugural address, but in the greater part of his subsequent policy, he has proved the very reverse of what was expected; being fair, mild, pacific,—a rigid observer of the constitution, and ever seeking to limit still further the powers of the executive.

Jackson seems to have taken Jefferson for his model; and, acting on his principles, his efforts were directed, amongst other points, to that of extinguishing the national debt. This, in 1790, amounted to seventy millions of dollars. Although increased by the purchase of Louisiana, Jefferson and Madison had reduced it, in 1812, to forty-five millions. War tripled this debt.

Yet, in 1823, it had again sunk to ninety millions; in 1829 to half of this sum,—that is, to its amount in 1812.

The population of the United States, estimated at four millions when independence was declared, had already increased to twelve millions; thus doubling itself in a quarter of a century,—a rate which certainly affords scope for all the country's vaunts respecting its proximate greatness and power.

The revenue of the union, arising almost altogether from the customs, the excise or internal duties having been abolished, was, in 1800, nine millions of dollars; in 1820, fifteen millions. In 1830, the president's speech announced it as twenty-four millions; whilst the expenditure was little more than thirteen.

Such attestations of prosperity as those contained in the revenue and population returns of America, no other existing country can boast. Well may her inhabitants be proud not only of these, and of the happiness and the power which they promise and imply, but also of that full degree of freedom with which they are accompanied. They have solved the greatest of all political questions,—viz. the possibility of liberty so extreme being compatible with order and with union. America, it is true, is as yet but young: those who look with distrust and coldness upon her institutions declare that the period of their probation has not yet passed; that even at present, the sum of liberty enjoyed is counterbalanced by disadvantages more than tantamount; and that the seeds of disunion and disorganisation are too thickly sown not to excite cause rather of despair than exultation.

Many of these objections are, no doubt, founded in truth. The complete triumph and prevalence of the democratic or ultra-republican party, and that too not taking place till their political opinions were pushed to an absurd extreme by opposition, have produced effects neither happy nor respectable in certain institutions of the country. The judicial department, for example

which was first appointed by the federals, and remained attached to them, lost its permanence by a democratic vote: the judges are now elected, and removable; and their conduct has in many instances been flagitious, and in most cases is far from respectable; but it is yet to be ascertained whether this arises from the perniciousness of the principle, or from merely its infancy as well as from the infancy of the state.

Religion is another source of grievous complaint to the enemies of America. There is no established church, no provision for ecclesiastics; a perfect liberty of opinion leaves flock and pastor to choose each other mutually, and to take the path which both may agree upon. But here is another phenomenon, another great experiment, yet incomplete, for which mankind ought to be grateful to America. If she fail, if religion perish, and general immorality be the consequence, as foretold, surely we shall profit by the example in avoiding it: if, on the contrary, religion, freed from the shackle, and deprived even of the protection of the state, thrives and spreads when thus abandoned to itself, what cause of congratulation will there not be to find it so imperishable!

The federation, too, is declared to be fraught with principles of disunion. There is no doubt of it: nor can this be a reproach to a republic; since, what regime is there which could hold a continent like that of Europe, or North America, together in any degree of civilisation, much less in the present. So vast and so mixed a body cannot be expected to adhere together for any considerable length of time, except for the great purposes of common defence. Their greatest bond of union at present consists in the looseness of that bond, and in the liberty enjoyed locally by each state. It is this, and the common feeling of rivalry towards England, that alone keeps them united; and when time or contention severs the great federal link, they will do no more than has been all along contemplated by the great founders of the union, and which can be regretted only by those pug-

nacious spirits, who estimate nations by their relative weight, skill, and obstinacy in battle.

The objections against America and its government, which are most harped and insisted on, are, however, not those addressed directly to her government or institutions: it is with her social state that cavillers mostly find fault; this social state, arising out of a republican government. The cities are found to be commercial; their inhabitants rather gainers than spenders of money. There is a want of refinement and fashion. Etiquette is disregarded; and the lower orders are imbued with, and actuated more by a spirit of pride than one of courtesy. How idle and illiberal are such complaints; how unfair this comparison between the metropolis of an ancient country like England, and a town of the back woods of America! Would the society of the latter have much improved by its yet remaining the colony, the dependent, the overgrown child of England? And would not a fashionable voyager have found quite as much subject for criticism in the rude and uncouth manners, the money-getting ways, and the unpolished address of colonial America, as has been found in the independent republic? But more, what new fund would there not have been for satire in the misconduct, the corruption, the foibles, and all the absurdities attending on the administration and vice-courts of successive governors, sent far over the Atlantic to rule a land which they had never before seen?

Such cavils are worthy neither of consideration nor reply. A republic hath disadvantages, and a monarchy is not without them. It is more than probable, that for the refined, and the wealthy, and perhaps for the intellectual, the social organisation of a limited monarchy may present enjoyments and a mode of life more congenial than can a republic. It is, indeed, in such comparisons of social life that monarchy has most advantage. Would that it could equally as well endure comparison in more important matters; in general freedom, tolerance, economy, in lightness of the public burdens, and honesty

of public administration! When in these things monarchy can stand the test,—as it is to be hoped that Great Britain will do ere long,—then we may cease to fear the example of a neighbouring republic, and cease in consequence to see the necessity of blindly vituperating it. Then will America be to us, what to the generous it has never ceased to be—an object of interest and study rather than of satire, and of emulation rather than of envy.

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